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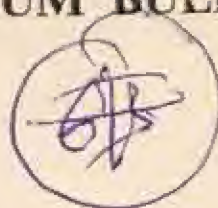
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MOTI CHANDRA

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TWO ILLUSTRATED DEVIMĀHĀTMYA MANUSCRIPTS FROM NEPAL*

Moti Chandra

The *Devimāhātmya* which forms a part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* is a long hymn in praise of Durgā Mahishamardini glorifying her action against the demon Mahishāsura and his army of demons. It is recited by the followers of the Devī during the Navarātra festival and it is asserted by the devout that Durgā never deserts a temple or a house where the hymn is recited daily. It is further maintained that in Kaliyuga all power rests with Chāṇḍī and Gaṇeśa (*Kāla-Chāṇḍīvināyaka*).

The *Devimāhātmya* describes that a king named Suratha, forced to leave his kingdom by his enemies and treacherous friends, wandered all alone in a forest. There he met a Vaiśya named Samādhi who had been completely dispossessed by his sons and wife. To get his grievances redressed they both proceeded to the hermitage of the saint Medhas for the solution of their problems. He recited the panegyric of Durgā by whose grace they gained their desired end.

It is difficult to ascertain the date of the composition of the *Devimāhātmya* but the manuscript evidence indicates that by the tenth century it had become popular. MM. Haraprasad Sastri has listed as many as fifteen *Devimāhātmya* MSS. mostly from Nepal of which as many as nine are dated. The earliest MS. is dated in N.S. 118=998 A.D. and the latest in V.S. 1492=1436¹ A.D. However, Petech has read the date as N.S. 518=1398 A.D.² Pargiter has suggested that the *Devimāhātmya* must have been composed at an early date but how much early it is difficult to say.³

Illustrated copies of the *Devimāhātmya* dating from the end of the fifteenth century and originating from India proper are also common. Majumdar has mentioned twenty MSS. ranging in date from the early fifteenth to eighteenth century all of Gujarat origin, an important seat of Devī worship.⁴ Anand

* I was assisted by my assistant Shri Sadashiv Gorakshkar in the preparation of this note.

¹ Hara Prasad Sastri, *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, Calcutta, 1905, p. liii.

² Luciano Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal (c. 750-1480)*, Rome, 1958, p. 80(B).

³ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ed. F. E. Pargitar, Delhi, (Reprint) 1969, pp. xii and xx.

⁴ M. R. Majumdar, 'Earliest *Devimāhātmya* miniatures with special reference to Śakti-worship in Gujarat', *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. VI (1938), p. 128.

Krishna mentions illustrated copies of *Devīmāhātmya* of Malwa origin,⁵ the earliest of which, painted at Pimpalner in Malwa and dated 1487 A.D., is in the collection of Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

An illustrated copy of *Devīmāhātmya* on palm-leaf datable to circa 1400 A.D. is in the collection of Prince of Wales Museum, which on the basis of our present knowledge could be considered as the earliest illustrated MS. of this poem. It is an incomplete MS. with forty-nine folios measuring 33.5 × 6 cm. and having border decoration, measuring two cm. of geometrical designs, flowers, medallions and scrolls represented about a centimetre from either edges of the folio. A 2.5 cm. broad blank vertical panel in the centre divides the text into two parts and has a perforation in the centre for stringing the folios. All the illustrations are placed on the right side and measure approximately 5.5 × 5.8 cm. The Sanskrit text is in Newari script which on paleographic ground has been dated by Pratapaditya Pal to c. 1400 A.D.⁶

The MS. has two wooden covers illustrating Śiva and Mātrikās. Their appeal is purely invocatory. Each figure appears within an arched panel with red background the internal spaces between the arches being filled with blue. The following figures appear:

1. Natarāja dancing on his bull: The eight armed and white coloured Śiva is dancing on the ochre coloured bull with his right leg lifted. He wears the lower garment reaching upto the knees, the crown, circular earrings, a necklace, armlets, bracelets, etc. Of his four right hands the original one in *vitarka-mudrā* is seen, the rest, except a second in uplifted pose, are worn off due to the damaged end of the cover. His original left hand is in *kaṣīhasta*; two upper hands hold *paraśu* (battle axe) and *khaṭvāṅga* and the third resting on his thigh holds the *pāśa* (noose).

The association of Śiva with the Devī is first referred to in the eighth chapter of the *Devīmāhātmya* which refers to the emergence of the Śaktis (Energies) of various gods. The poem states, "Then the energies of gods surrounded Śiva. He said to Chāṇḍikā 'Let the Asuras be slain forthwith through my goodwill'. Śiva's presence with Mātrikās is thus explained.

2. Mahishamardini: The eighteen-handed and three-eyed goddess, richly ornamented, wearing an armoured tunic with her lower garment spread fanwise between her legs, stands with her left foot firmly planted on the back of the buffalo demon Mahisha and her right foot on the back of the highly stylised lion which has attacked the Mahisha. In the left hands from top to bottom she holds a *khaḍga* (sword), *gadā* (mace), *chakra* (discus), *paraśu* (battle

⁵ Anand Krishna, *Malwa Painting*, Banaras, 1963, pp. 7-24.

⁶ Pratapaditya Pal, 'Paintings from Nepal in the Prince of Wales Museum', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 10, 1967, p. 4, figs. 4 and 5 (Acc. No. 56.45).

axe), *ḍamaru* (tom-tom), *śara* (arrow) and *pāśa* (noose)—which she has thrown round his neck. The original right hand is held in *vitarka-mudrā* while in the remaining hands from top to bottom she holds a *kheṭaka* (shield), *aṅkuśa* (goad), *śaṅkha* (conch), *vajra* (thunderbolt), *chāpa* (bow), *ghaṇṭā* (bell), the tail of the Buffalo demon and the noose thrown round the head of the demon.

3. *Kālī*: The black coloured and pot-bellied *Kālī* is seated on a corpse. In her three hands she holds a *ḍamaru*, *khaṭvāṅga*, *kapāla* (skull) and the fourth is held in *vitarka-mudrā*. She wears a crown, earrings, armlets, and a garland of skulls; her loose hair is falling down on the back.

4. *Brāhmī*: The four-handed light yellow coloured consort of *Brahmā* is seated on her vehicle, a white goose. In her three hands she holds an *akṣhamālā*, *pustaka*, *pātra* (bowl) and the fourth is held in *vitarka-mudrā*. She is heavily ornamented and wears a striped lower garment.

5. *Māheśvarī*: The three-eyed white coloured goddess, wearing a striped *sāri* and ornaments is seated on her ochre-coloured bull. In her three hands she holds an *akṣhamālā*, a trident and a *pātra* and the fourth is held in *vitarka-mudrā*.

6. *Kaumārī*: The red coloured fierce looking goddess, holding a spear and a rosary in upper hands and a bowl in the natural right hand having her lower left hand in *vitarka-mudrā*, is seated on her peacock vehicle.

Second cover: beginning from the left:

1. *Vaiṣṇavī*: The yellowish blue coloured heavily ornamented four-handed goddess holds a *chakra*, *gadā* and *pātra* in three hands and the fourth is in *vitarka-mudrā*. She is seated on *Garuḍa* with a beaked human face, his hands are folded in *añjali-mudrā* and he is provided with wings.

2. *Vārāhī*: The pot-bellied, red coloured, sow-faced, four-handed goddess holding an *aṅkuśa* (goad), fish and a cup, her fourth hand in *vitarka-mudrā*, is seated on her buffalo vehicle. In addition to her rich ornaments she wears a skull-garland.

3. *Aindrī*: The ochre coloured, four-handed goddess is seated on the white elephant *Airāvata*. Unlike the Śaivite goddess she has the third eye placed horizontally on the forehead. In three of her hands she holds a rosary, a thunderbolt and a bowl and the fourth is held in *vitarka-mudrā*.

4. *Chāmundā*: She is squatting on the corpse, has ochre coloured, fierce countenance, flamboyant halo, and skeleton bones. In three of her hands she holds a *khudga*, a *kheṭaka* and a bowl; the fourth is in *vitarka-mudrā*.

5. Mahālakshmi or Ambā: The four-armed white coloured goddess is squatting on the white lion vehicle. She wears a white *sāri* and is richly ornamented. In three of her hands she holds a *khadga*, a *khepaka* and a bowl; the fourth one is in *vitarka-mudrā*.

6. Gaṇeśa: The four-armed, white coloured and pot-bellied Gaṇeśa is seated on a white patterned carpet. In his hands he holds a rosary, a battle axe, one of his broken tusks and sweetmeat ball; his vehicle the mouse, stands below.

It is interesting to note that the floral scroll on the reverse of the cover is the same as on the cover of the *Devīmāhātmya* dated 1610 A.D. in the author's collection to be described later on.

The following illustrations give an adequate idea of their quality:

Fol. 1. rev. The sage Mārkaṇḍeya. 6.5 × 5.8 cm.

Red background with yellow borders. The emaciated brown sage, with his bones indicated by black lines, is seated on a round mat. Facing him is seated the white coloured Suratha wearing a three-pointed tiara, ornaments, a striped white *dhori* and holding a lotus in either hand. The drawing is flat though an attempt is made at colour-modelling and the yellow, green and blue colours for the back ground aid to bring the figures into prominence. The farther protruding eye is noteworthy.

Fol. 2. ob. King Suratha and the Vaiśya conversing with Mārkaṇḍeya. 6.1 × 5.8 cm.

The brown saint sporting a beard, moustaches and braided hair is seated on a round mat. Suratha and the Vaiśya are seated with folded hands facing him. Red background. Note the linear draughtmanship.

Fol. 7. ob. Viṣṇu destroying the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha. 6.2 × 6 cm.

The four handed Viṣṇu holding a *chakra* and a mace in upper hands has caught the demons with his original hands; the ocean with conch-shell and fish in the foreground.

Fol. 14. ob. Mahiṣāsuramardini. 6.4 × 6 cm.

The ten handed goddess is holding in her right hand a sword, a conch, an arrow and a trident with which she has pierced the Buffalo demon. She holds a sword, a battle-axe and a bowl in the left hands. She stands astride the lion and buffalo whose tail she has caught by one of the left hands. One of the original hands holds a bowl and the other is held in *vitarka-mudrā*.

Fol. 27. rev. Slaying of Chanda and Munda. 5.2×6 cm.

Against red background the haloed four handed goddess wearing a skirt holds Chanda and Munda.

Fol. 31. rev. Slaying of the demon Raktabija. 5.3×5.8 cm.

Red background. The four handed goddess has lifted the demon in the air at the point of the spear. A blue demon in the foreground. Note the protruding farther eye of the goddess.

Fol. 36. ob. The slaying of Śumbha. 5.8×5.8 cm.

Red background. The four-handed haloed goddess is seated on a white slab with two gods facing her. The scene represents the prayers offered to her after she slayed the demon Śumbha.

After a careful study of the miniatures, the following characteristics become obvious:

1. Like the Buddhist palm-leaf MSS. of Nepalese origin the purpose of the *Devimāhātmya* MS. is magical. Its magical potency is increased by the figures of the Mātrikās and the Devī in her act of destroying the demon. The MS. was apparently worshipped.

2. The miniatures are mostly of iconographic interest showing a tradition of long duration which in the course of long transmission had considerably weakened. They closely follow their proto-types in stone, bronze and terracotta; as a matter of fact the representation of back supports adopted from stone or other hard materials confirms the suggestion.

3. The background is uniformly flat red and certain devices such as two tiered *prabhāvali* are used to bring the figures into prominence. The figures are outlined by a thin black line which, while defining the body, stands very sturdy in its sweep.

4. Very rudimentary effort is made at colour-modelling by adding deeper wash at the edges to suggest volume.

5. The figures in full view have a certain degree of stiffness, but those in profile have better plasticity.

6. A significant point in the measurement of the body is the protrusion of the farther eye, a characteristic which it shares not only with the Western Indian style, but also with the art of the Himalayas⁷ and miniatures of later

⁷ Madanjeet Singh, *Himalayan Art*, UNESCO, London, 1968, pp. 47 and 38-39 and other illustrations.

Nepalese art.

7. In keeping with stiff sculptural concept the miniatures lack movement and even in the vigorous battle scenes in which the Devī participates, the movement is arrested. The inanimity and frigidity of pose even in group scenes may also be due to the emplacement of the figures looking away from each other.

8. In the composition no attempt is made to introduce architecture or any other element of landscape or decoration to relieve the monotony of the red background.

9. Though a profuse use of ornaments is made the figures wear only a lower garment, leaving the rest of the body bare. Only in one instance the Devī is shown wearing a tunic.

10. A tiger and a buffalo are the only animals that appear, but both of them are formally treated.

11. The style of the miniature shows that there is definite decadence both in the quality of draughtsmanship and colours. The composition is extremely limited in scope and demonstrates inability to go beyond the limitation of a decadent hieratic art in which not the art but magical value of the miniature is emphasised.

Another copy of the *Devīmāhātmya* in the collection of the author is on hand-made paper. Its folios measure 22.3 × 5.6 cm. The text is in five lines on each folio with a broad border on each side delineated by a thin red line. A 2 × 2 cm. blank square with a perforation in the centre appears on each folio. Out of the total seventy-one folios thirty-two are illustrated. Both the wooden covers are also illustrated on the inner side.

In the present MS. the first five folios contain *Heramba Stuti* and *Devī Kavacha*. The last two folios pertain to *Indrākṣī Stava*.

The colophon, partly in Sanskrit and partly in Newari, mentions that the MS. was written in N.S. 730 (1610 A.D.) for one Kalyāṇa Deva who has been depicted on one of the folios as wearing a jacket and *dhottī* and with folded hands is seated against red background decorated with scrolls. On his right are seated his two wives Vimalādevī and Gomatī (?) dressed in *sārī* and *cholis*. In the foreground is a green carpet decorated with a scroll.

The portrait of Jagajyotirmalla (1610-1637 A.D.), on Fol. 63 obv., during whose reign the MS. was painted, is interesting as it proves that the MS. was written when he ruled over Bhatgaon. The miniature has red background decorated with a *torāṇa* against which rests a golden throne and some bowls

and an ewer. The king wearing a three-pointed tiara with folded hands is facing to the left. Behind him the golden coloured woman is apparently his queen named Kamalā Devī.

Jagajjyotirmalla's reign has been placed between 1613-1637 A.D. by D. R. Regmi,^{*} but it is evident from the MS. that he ruled preceding at least by three years. Jagajjyotirmalla was a lover of music and drama and has left important works on the subjects of his liking.

The following Mātrikās appear on the wooden covers. The background is uniformly white divided into arched compartments.

On the first cover the following figures appear (Fig. 1):

1. Brāhmī: The yellow coloured four-handed goddess stands on the goose, her vehicle; her slightly bent and astride posture indicates a dancing pose. She wears a *mukuta*, ornaments and a striped *sāri*. In her three hands she holds a rosary, a book and a bowl while the fourth one is in *vitarka-mudrā*.

2. Māheśvarī: The four-handed white goddess wearing a diaphenous *sāri* and holding a rosary, a trident and a bowl stands on a recumbent bull, her vehicle.

3. Kaumārī: The red coloured four-armed goddess holding a bowl, a rosary and a lotus in three hands with the fourth hand in *vitarka-mudrā* stands on peacock, her vehicle.

4. Vaiṣṇavī: The four-handed green coloured goddess holding a discus, a bowl and a mace in three hands with the fourth in *vitarka-mudrā* stands on Garuḍa depicted similarly as in the palm-leaf MS. cover.

5. Vārāhī: The red coloured, four-armed, sow-headed, pot-bellied goddess wearing ornaments and a *dhoti* stands on her buffalo vehicle. In three hands she holds a fish, a bowl and a mace while the fourth is in *vitarka-mudrā*.

On the second cover, beginning from the left, the following figures appear (Fig. 2.):

6. Nārasimhī: The lion-headed, four-handed goddess wearing a short loin cloth and ornaments stands on a pedestal (*pīṭha*). She holds a discus, a bowl and a mace in three hands; her fourth hand is in *vitarka-mudrā*.

7. Aindrī: The golden coloured four handed goddess holding a *vajra*,

* D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Part II, (1520-1768 A.D.), Calcutta, 1966, pp. 215-218.

bowl and an unidentified object, her fourth hand in *vitarka-mudrā*, stands on the white elephant Airāvata.

8. Chāmūṇḍā: The fair coloured four-handed goddess holding a sword, a shield and a bowl in two lower hands stands astride a highly stylized white lion looking like a dog.

10. Bhairava: The blue coloured, fierce, four-handed god, holding a *damru*, a bowl and a *khaṭvāṅga* stands astride a human body.

The iconographic implication of the figures on the book covers is noticeable. Apparently the 1610 covers share many common features with c. 1400 covers though it seems the iconography of the goddesses differs in certain details, which may be due to the artists following a different iconographic tradition.

Among the thirty-two paintings most are of iconographic interest but some of them, following the larger composition of *pāṭas*, portray convincing idea of the incidents they represent. They are:

Fol. 6. rev. Madhu and Kaiṭabha attacking Brahmā. (Fig. 3)

In the upper panel, against red background decorated with scrolls, the four-handed Brahmā is shown seated on a full blown lotus emerging from the navel of Viṣṇu depicted in the lower panel as lying on the serpent couch in the blue ocean, its water being represented in basket pattern. On the left are the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha in the act of attacking Brahmā while on the right the ten-handed goddess is rushing to his help. A combination of blue, red, yellow, green body colours, the vigorous action of the demons and the quietitude of the ocean show how even a tiny miniature could express the spirit of vigorous form.

Fol. 10. obv. Worship of the goddess. (Fig. 4)

The twelve-armed fair coloured goddess seated on her highly stylized lion vehicle is flanked by two gods on either side in white, green and orange carnations. The heart-shaped flamboyant background and the foreground are red, but patches of blue indicate the sky and a solitary tree, the landscape. The contrasting colour scheme brings the figures into prominence. It is also interesting to note that the composition and the poses of the figures show the survival of certain traits of the old palm leaf miniatures.

Fol. 16. obv. The Devī slaying the demon. (Fig. 5)

Against red background decorated with a scroll pattern and blue foreground the ten-handed goddess holding various weapons poised with her right leg on her lion vehicle and with the left pinning down the demon whom

she is piercing with a trident; the death agony is brought out on his contorted face. The orange coloured Devī wears a green armoured tunic, *sāri* and ornaments. The posture of the Devī, the rushing lion in the fury of the battle and the distorted movement of the dying demon add a forceful spirit to the composition.

Fol. 16. rev. Worship of the Devī. (Fig. 6)

The ten-handed orange coloured Devī holding weapons and wearing a striped *sāri* and ornaments is seated on a white lion. A white and a green god on red patches in the sky holding garlands for worship balance the colour scheme of the composition. Note also its iconographic concept whose parallels also appear in stone.

Fol. 36. obv. The demon and his messengers. (Fig. 7)

The miniature has blue background with a tasseled red fringe and red foreground. On the left is seated the red coloured demon chief, wearing a green tunic with crenellated ends, a *dhott* and ornaments, on a white carpet talking to his two advisers, in green and red, kneeling on the floor with folded hands; nearby lie their weapons. Note that the figure could stand parallel to Nepalese bronzes; extension of the farther eye and use of contrasting blue, red, green, orange and white add charm to the composition.

Fol. 39. obv. Śumbha and Nisumbha. (Fig. 8)

Against blue background two figures in orange and red body colours and wearing red and green tunics respectively are depicted walking on red ground. The transparency of their lower garment is indicated by hanging tassels. In spite of the crudity of drawing there is a certain delicacy in the composition and grace in the movement.

Fol. 44. rev. Slaying of the demon Raktabīja. (Fig. 9)

Against red background decorated with scrolls, on the right the ten-handed Devī riding her vehicle, a white lion, has pinned down the demon with a trident; the blood dripping out from his body is being collected in a cup by the blue coloured Kālī lying on the ground. The legend mentions that with every drop of the demon's blood that fell on the ground a new demon equal in strength to Raktabīja was created. Chāmunda, therefore, requested Kālī to collect the blood in a bowl to avoid its falling on the ground. The vigour of the Devī, the death agony of Raktabīja and the movement of Kālī are well stressed. The composition protrudes beyond the frame.

Fol. 57. obv. Nārāyaṇīstuti. (Fig. 10)

The sixteen-handed orange coloured goddess, wearing a green crenellated tunic, striped *sāri* and ornaments, is seated on her white lion vehicle against

a red background decorated with scrolls. On her either side is an orange and green coloured god with folded hands. In the foreground are three gods, blue, orange and white, kneeling down with folded hands. The composition has a spirit of ease and the contrasting colours are effective.

Fol. 57. rev. Varapradāna or granting of the boon. (Fig. 11)

It is an interesting miniature depicting the orange coloured goddess conferring boon on the celestial and earthly beings represented by flying and squatting figures; the supernatural power of the Devi is signified by the size of her figure in relation to the rest. The figures in orange, blue, white, red and green lend an animated feeling to the composition. The background is red with floriated scroll pattern.

Fol. 61. obv. Mārkaṇḍeya and his devotees. (Fig. 12)

The background is blue with a tree on either side forming an arch; red foreground. On the right the brown sage with emaciated body indicated by thick black lines, wearing matted locks, is seated on a black antelope skin, his legs tied with a scarf (*yogapatta*). Facing him are Suratha and the Vaiśya. Certain devices like thick blue washes around the trees and light blue background are an attempt to delineate atmosphere. Such devices are employed in larger MSS. such as the *Hitopadeśa* dated 1594 A.D.⁹

It is evident from the portrait of Jagajjyotirmalla (c. 1610-1631 A.D.) that our MS. was written and illustrated at Bhatgaon, the capital of the Kingdom. The illustrations are stylistically similar to the illustrated MS. of the *Hitopadeśa* dated 1594 in the Bir Library, Nepal,¹⁰ three scrolls in Prince of Wales Museum,¹¹ *Kalāpustaka* now in the University Library, Cambridge¹² and the MS. of *Aśvachikitsā* in the Bir Library, Kathmandu.

The following characteristics appear:

1. The background is usually red decorated with floriated scrolls; at times the background is also blue. The scrolls add a charm to the otherwise monochrome red. This device is of earlier origin and appears as early as the book covers of the *Śivadharmā-Vishvadharmā* in the Bir Library, Kathmandu¹³ datable to the thirteenth century and becomes a common feature in the scrolls of the seventeenth century or even earlier.¹⁴

⁹ Stella Kramrisch, *Art of Nepal*, New York, 1964, pl. 90 A-C.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pl. 90 A-C.

¹¹ Pratapaditya Pal, 'Paintings from Nepal in the Prince of Wales Museum', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 10, 1967, p. 10.

¹² Pratapaditya Pal, 'A *Kalāpustaka* from Nepal', *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares*, Vol. I, 1967, pp. 23-23, figs. 41-53.

¹³ Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, p. 99, fig. 80.

¹⁴ Pratapaditya Pal, 'Paintings from Nepal in the Prince of Wales Museum', p. 4.

2. The landscape is of a very limited character consisting of trees with green foliage, placed on either side of the composition; in very few cases they appear in the centre behind the main figure. The purpose seems to be two-fold—to represent symbolically the forest scene or just to relieve the monotony of the background by providing a frame pattern.

3. The palette is limited to red, yellow, green, white, blue and black; but against the red or occasionally blue background, they are juxtaposed in such a way that they give the composition an animated structure. This balance in the colour scheme is seen in many illustrations. Besides a harmonious blending of colours, contrasting colours of seats or animals help in demarcating the contours from the background thus avoiding merging with the colour scheme adopted.

4. Solitary figures and even the compositions consisting of two or more than two figures show close affinity with the figure composition in stone, wood, and metal and the poses affected by the figures show the prototype in the materials mentioned.

5. The figure drawing is delineated in black outline, which appears schematic in character. A red wash running along the outline is perhaps survival of the earlier colour-modelling suggesting volume. Even the earlier convention of the extension of the farther eye in certain cases is also maintained. In draughtsmanship two conventions are noticeable. While in some figures rough and short curves following the earlier tradition are maintained, angularity now appears in certain features of the draughtsmanship. This new viewpoint is reflected in the seventeenth century Nepalese documents. The figures in profile show double chin, sharply defined nose and eyebrows and eyelashes. In indicating movement one leg is drawn straight forward and the other is bent at the knee. The seated, kneeling and flying poses continue the earlier tradition.

6. As the illustrations are mostly iconographic, complex details of the poses, number of hands, the various type of weapons and *mudrās* are carefully worked out within the very narrow space allotted to them. Some other figures though following the movement laid down by the *Śilpāśāstras* show a certain degree of informality which is very pleasing. Two excellent examples of such an influence in composition are fol. 57 rev. in which the flying Devī excites movement and fol. 39 ob. in which Śumbha and Niśumbha are leading their army. Balance is achieved by drawing the figures facing one another.

7. In comparison with the scrolls in Prince of Wales Museum and the *Hitopaddisā* in the Bir Library the costumes in the illustrations of the *Devīmāhātmya* are of limited character. Both males and females wear transparent *dhātis* decorated with stripes and dots and tunics with crenellated edges.

It seems possible that the style and content of the *Devīmāhātmya* have been derived from larger compositions, the earlier example of which survives in the *Hitopadeśa* dated 1594. This *Hitopadeśa* MS. whose style is continued in the scrolls dated 1617 shares with our *Devīmāhātmya* a bright colour scheme and angular draughtsmanship, though the narrative themes divided into compartment by tall trees are absent owing to the restricted space in the latter. The palm leaf *Devīmāhātmya* in Prince of Wales Museum, however, continues the iconographic concept of earlier MSS.; it shares certain characteristics such as bright colour scheme, rather angular draughtsmanship, protrusion of the farther eyes, with the *Devīmāhātmya* dated 1610 A.D.

JAIN BRONZES FROM WESTERN INDIA FROM THE LATE SMT. AMARAVATI GUPTA COLLECTION

Moti Chandra and Sadashiv Gorakshkar

The eighth century A.D. seems to have been an exciting period in the history of Indian sculpture. The Gupta tradition which held the field for almost four centuries was now breaking up and the Pālas of Eastern India, the Gurjara Pratihāras of Northern and Western India and the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan were developing their individual modes of expression which, though deeply influenced by the art of the preceding centuries, brought about pleasing changes in the techniques and plastic interpretation and they laid down a solid foundation of the true concept of medieval sculpture which was to endure till the end of the twelfth century.

During the eighth and the following centuries, different parts of India produced portable bronze images, being more handy to be installed in temples and easy to worship in private homes. A beginning in the study of the Northern, Western Indian and the Deccan bronzes has been made but the same cannot be said about the Pāla and Sena bronzes.

It is noteworthy that among the Rāshtrakūṭa and the late Chālukyan bronzes, Jain figures predominated.¹ They come from Chopda² and twenty-seven pieces from Rajnapur-Khinkhini.³

In the Western Indian group, which support the view of the Tibetan historian Tārānāth about the existence of a distinctive school of art in the seventh century, which he designates as the school of the Ancient West, the following may be mentioned.

A group of seven Jain bronzes from Lilvadeva, a village situated at a distance of three miles to the north of Limdi in the Jhalod Taluka of the Panchmahal District⁴ in Gujarat includes one *Chaturvīṃśati Pāṭṭa*. Though

¹ Douglas Barrett, "A Group of Bronzes from the Deccan", *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4, 1956-1957, pp. 39-45.

² S. N. Chakravarti, 'Note on an Inscribed Jaina Image', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 3, 1952-53, pp. 40-42, Pl. XXVI.

³ Balachandra Jain, 'Jain Bronzes from Rajnapur-Khinkhini', *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. XI, 1955, pp. 15-33.

⁴ U. P. Shah, "Seven Bronzes from Lilvadevā (Pañch-Mahāls)", *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum*, Vol. IX, Part 1-2, 1952-53, pp. 42-52. S. R. Rao, "Jain Bronzes from Lilvadevā" *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. XI, 1955, pp. 30-34.

stylistically different from the Pāla bronzes, Rao, because of the non-availability of material on Western Indian bronzes, was not certain whether they belonged to the Pāla school or to an independent school of bronze-casting in Western India.⁵

For the history of bronze-casting in Western India, however, the bronze hoard from Vasantgadhi has considerable importance.⁶ Vasantgadhi is situated in old Sirohi State of Rajasthan, five miles from Sajjana Road station on the Ahmedabad-Delhi sector, of the Western Railway. The bronze hoard discovered from the cellar of the temple of Śāntinātha was dispersed, but the main bulk went to Pindwada, situated at a distance of a mile from the Sajjana Road station and housed in the temple of Mahāvīrasvāmī. One of the two images is dated in 687 A.D. It is remarkable that the Jina figures⁷ show the emergence of distinctive Western Indian style marked by strong modelling roundish face, full sloping shoulders, broad chest, rather well rendered straight taut legs, loosely hanging smooth hands and pleated garments. The bronzes show the mastery of craftsmanship. As a matter of fact, these figures, while continuing the Gupta tradition, show a plasticity which, while defining the body boldly, shows a certain rigidity which in the course of time resulted in a mechanical convention which Jain iconography shared with Hindu and Buddhist iconography.

A large majority of bronzes in the Vasantgadhi hoard belongs to medieval idiom with the Jinas seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a *śiṃhāsana* accompanied by a Jina on either side with attendant figures, goddesses, Yakshas and Yakṣiṇīs, etc. As a matter of fact, they amply support the view that by the ninth century in Western India a canon of Jain iconography had been set up which had developed certain iconographic types. In keeping with the rigid convention of a hieratic art and inherent orthodoxy of the Jain community, these types endured for several centuries. In determining the dates of these bronzes there is no difficulty about those bearing dates, otherwise stylistic analysis alone helps us in putting the undated ones in chronological order.

The aesthetic appraisal of Western Indian bronzes shows that while in the closing years of the seventh century they reveal a pleasing freshness in modelling and dignified spiritual and meditative qualities, in the later centuries, more or less, they become objects of veneration only. The process continued throughout Western India and it is almost certain that it was a unified style whose progress or degeneration is seen all over the region.

The biggest hoard of Western Indian bronzes was from Akota,⁸ a village situated to the west of Baroda; it is also mentioned in an inscription dated

⁵ S. R. Rao, *ibid.*, p. 30.

⁶ U. P. Shah, "Bronze Hoard from Vasantgadhi", *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 1-2, 1953-1954, pp. 55-65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. IX, figs. 1 & 2.

⁸ U. P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes*, Bombay, 1959.

812 A.D. The place maintained its importance till 1292 A.D. The hoard was apparently buried at the time of the invasion of Gujarat by Alap Khān, one of the generals of the Delhi Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, in 1298 A.D. The bronzes numbering one hundred and sixty pieces perhaps belonged to the Jain temple known as Añkoṭṭka Vasatikā.⁹

The hoard contains bronzes of different dates. Dr. U. P. Shah dates the beginning as early as the fifth century while some scholars question this view. The Akota bronzes are cast in *cire-perdue* process resulting in hollow cast images. The halos and snakehoods in Pārśvanātha images were often cast separately.

The earlier images such as that of Jivantasvāmī from the Akota hoard are limited; the images of the second period datable to the eighth century and later predominate. There seem to have been centres of Western Indian style not only in Gujarat, Malwa and Marwar, but possibly one of its offshoots travelled as far as Kanauj which seems to have been the meeting ground of Eastern and Western schools of bronze-casting. It is significant to note that Buddhist bronzes from Sirpur in Madhya Pradesh and the Jain bronzes from Rajanapur Khinkhūni in Maharashtra have close affinities with the Western Indian bronzes. The relationship between the Deccani Buddhist bronzes found from the *stūpa* at Nalla Sopara, dated by Douglas Barrett to c. 800 A.D.,¹⁰ and the Jain bronze from Western India is obvious. They show a happy synthesis between the Pāla and Western Indian schools. The influence of Western Indian school is clear in the treatment of their rather stiff inflexible poses, squarish faces and modelling.

The late Smt. Amaravati Gupta collection contains some important examples of Western Indian bronzes; our thanks are due to the donor for this unique gift. The donors assert that the bronzes are of Akota, and Vasantgadhi origin. However, the possibility is that they belong to the original Vasantgadhi hoard which, as noted by Dr. Shah, has been dispersed.

Of the twenty-one bronzes in this collection there are nine figures of Pārśvanātha which shows that he was widely worshipped in Western India. They range between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries and as many as ten bear dates. The earliest is dated in 887 A.D. and the latest in 1427 A.D. They also vary from individual figures to elaborate compositions such as the *Chaturvīṃśati pañcakas*. In the elaborate images, with two or more attendant figures, the Yaksha and the Yakshī are often seated on independent lotus seats (Fig. 13) which stem from the main pedestal. In the sixth-seventh centuries, in the Buddhist sculptures in the Deccan, we witness a similar treatment in the representation of the Miracle of Śrāvastī and it is quite likely that such sculptures

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰ Douglas Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

may have served as prototype for Western Indian bronzes. A similar observation could be made about the representation of Vidyādhara over the horizontal cross-bars (Fig. 16), a practice that seems to have originated in the Deccan.

The two unconventional bronzes that deserve mention are Nos. 67.23 (Fig. 15) and 67.25 (Fig. 22). The former represents Pārśva attended upon by his Yaksha and Yakshī with coiled serpent-bodies. The other suggests an attempt to depict the three worlds, by separating the main shrine from the pedestal, a feature not yet encountered with in other bronzes.

The following is a catalogue of the bronzes grouped on stylistic and chronological considerations:

67.7 *Jina (Neminātha?)*.

Brass. Western Indian school (Akota style).

Dated Śaṁvat 944 = 887 A.D. Ht. 16 cm. (Fig. 13).

The Jina is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a lotus resting on a *siṃhāsana*. The figure, now defaced, had elongated ears and the neck is *kambū-grīvā* i.e. with folds. The hair are in conventionalized curls with an *uṣṇīṣa* on the top and he seems to wear a transparent fitting garment. He is flanked by Yaksha Gomeda to his right and Yakshī Ambikā to his left, identifiable by the branch of a mango tree held in her right hand; both are seated on independent lotus pedestals. The circular *prabhā* with beaded pattern rests on two plain upright pillars surmounted by a cross-bar. *Dharmachakra* flanked by a deer on either side appears on the pedestal. The Navagrahas are conspicuous by their absence.

The following inscription appears on the back:

1. देव प्रमोद संवत्सर सुत
2. १४४

Meritorious gift in the year Śaṁvat 944.

67.8 *Tri-tīrthika of Pārśvanātha*.

Brass. Western Indian school (Akota style).

End of the 9th century A.D. Ht. 11 cm. (Fig. 14).

The Jina is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a lotus resting on a pedestal. The figure is defaced; eyes and ears elongated; nose broad; lips thin and the neck has two folds. There is an *uṣṇīṣa* on the top of the head and he seems to wear a transparent close fitting garment. The haloed Rāhabhanātha and Mahāvīra in

kāyotsarga posture appear on his right and left respectively while at the base of the pedestal appear two defaced, seated figures who could be identified as Yaksha Dharapendra and Yakshi Padmāvati. On the pedestal are depicted eight *grahas*. The halo comprises of the canopy of a seven-hooded cobra supported on its recoiled body.

67.9 *Pārśvanātha*.

Bronze. Western Indian school (Akota style).

End of the 9th century A.D. Ht. 7.6 cm.

The Jina is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a cushion; the rest of the pedestal is missing. The figure, now defaced, has elongated ears; the two rippled neck is short; *ushnīsha* on top of the head. He wears a transparent close-fitting garment. Only a portion of the recoiled snake appears to his right to which is attached a part of the forearm of Rishabhanātha who once must have been standing to his right.

The inscription on the base reads : *बनाईल*

67.23 *Pārśvanātha*.

Brass. Western Indian style. Gujarat/Rajasthan.

c. Early 10th century A.D. Ht. 12 cm. (Fig. 15).

The Jina having a longish face with clearly marked *ushnīsha*, rippled neck and broad shoulders is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a carpeted *simhāsana*. His halo consists of the canopy of a seven-hooded serpent resting on its coil showing the figure of 8. A unique feature of the bronze is the depiction of Yaksha Nāgendra (or Dharapendra) and Yakshi Padmāvati on his right and left respectively with their coiled bodies as snakes, and in *añjalīmudrā*, emphasizing their association with the serpent world.

The only parallels that could be cited are two standing images of Pārśva from Akota (Pls. 17b and 34) published by Dr. U. P. Shah.¹¹ Another unique example has been published by B. N. Sharma.¹² Unlike the other images Pārśvanātha here is not only attended upon by Yaksha Sarvānubhūti and Yakshi Ambikā but Dharapendra and Padmāvati also are represented in their reptilian form projecting on either side of the Jina. The mutilated pedestal of our bronze leaves room for doubt whether or not the Nāga and Nāgi here were united in a *nāga-pāśa*. Even so, the treatment of these figures is much more superior in our bronze than in those from Akota.

¹¹ U. P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes*, Bombay, 1959.

¹² B. N. Sharma, 'Unpublished Jaina Bronzes in the National Museum, New Delhi,' *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, Vol. XIX, March, 1970, No. 3, p. 275, fig. 1.

67.6 *Rishabhanātha*.

Brass. Western Indian school (Akota style).

Late 9th-early 10th century A.D.

Ht. 23.3 cm. (Fig. 16).

The Jina Rishabhanātha, recognizable by the hair-locks on his shoulders, is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a cushion placed on a *siṃhāsana* covered with a carpet. The figure is partially defaced; the eyes are elongated and inlaid with silver; the ear-lobes are elongated but do not touch the shoulders; the neck is short, with two folds; the *ushnisha* appears on the top of the head and *śrivatsa* symbol on the chest.

The circular *prabhā* rests on two plain upright pillars surmounted by a cross-bar with gadrooned ends. The eight *grahas* are represented standing below the *siṃhāsana*. The Yaksha Gomukha and Yakshī Chakreśvarī are seated on lotuses to his right and left respectively. A male *chauri*-bearer on each side, with flexed bodies, flank the Jina while a Vidyādhara is perched on the cross-bar on either side of the halo. This suggests contacts with contemporary Deccan-Karnāṭaka tradition which is suggested by an examination of two bronzes.

(a) A *Chaturvīṃśatī paṭṭa* from Rajnapur Khinkhini.¹³

(b) A *Chaturvīṃśatī paṭṭa* from Līlvādeva.¹⁴

It safely compares also with another bronze (No. 67.7) dated 887 A.D. in the Museum collection.

67.22 *Unidentified Jina (Neminātha?)*.

Brass. Western Indian style. Rajasthan.

C. 11th century. A.D. Ht. 12.4 cm.

The Jina is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a cushion resting on a pedestal, flanked by his attendant Yaksha and Yakshī. The Yakshī holds a child in her left lap and, what looks like a bunch of mango fruits in her right, which leads to her identification as Ambikā and hence to that of the Yaksha as Gomedha. Consequently the Jina is Neminātha or Arishtanemi, the twenty second Tirthankara. The halo is circular with perforated lotus pattern surrounded by incised foliage representing the *dīkṣā-śṛīkṣa* of the Jina-in this case the *Velasa*. The bronze is defaced.

The inscription reads:

वमुता गणीनि

¹³ Balchandra Jain, "Jain Bronzes from Rajnapur Khinkini," *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. XI, 1953, Pl. III, fig. 1.

¹⁴ S. R. Rao, "Jain Bronzes from Līlvādeva," *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. XI, Pl. X, fig. 2.

67.15 *Tri-tīrthika of Pārśvanātha.*

Brass. Western Indian style. Probably Vasantgaḍh.

Dated V.S. 1091 = 1034 A.D. Ht. 12.8 cm.

The Jina is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a cushion supported by a *viśva-padma*(?). His face is oval with large eyes, flat nose, thin lips and *ushṇīsha* on top. He is flanked by Rishabhanātha and Mahāvīra to his right and left respectively standing in *kāyotsarga* pose against an oval back plate. On the *pīṭha* on either side are the Yaksha Dharapendra and Yakshī Padmāvatī. The serpent-hood is surmounted by a *chhatra* flanked by Vidyādhara on either side. The following inscription appears on its back:

1. श्री चारापदिय म
2. छे (ने) (नि) य धाविकया
3. कारीता सं १०९१

It records that the image was made (got made?) by Śrāvikā Neniya of the Dhārāpadiya Gachcha.

67.11 *Tri-tīrthika of Pārśvanātha.*

Brass. Western Indian style. Probably Vasantgaḍh.

Dated Samvat 1106 = 1049 A.D. Ht. 20.5 cm. (Fig. 17).

The Jina is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a cushion placed on a *viśva-padma*. He has a round face with elongated ears and eyes with shrunken pupils. He also has *ushṇīsha* on the head.

He is flanked by Rishabhanātha and a male *chauri*-bearer on his right and Pārśvanātha and a male *chauri*-bearer to his left. At the base of his cushion, on either side, are seated his attendant Yaksha and Yakshī, Dharapendra and Padmāvatī.

His halo comprises of a concave serpent-hood but, unlike earlier practice, it does not rest on its recoiled body. On either side of the serpent-hood is a flying Vidyādhara while a *chhatra* appears on the top. The incised leaf-pattern on the back plate indicates his *dīkṣā-sṛikṣha* Dhātaki (*Grislea tomentosa*).

On the pedestal is placed the wheel flanked by the deer and planets.

The inscription on the back reads:

1. श्री ब्रह्मणीय संतानः
2. श्रेष्ठि श्री संघकायजः
3. ममणस्य प्रियापत्नी
4. छट्टिके मवीकरत सं. ११०६

It records the making of the image by the wife (name not clear) of Mamaṇa, son of Śreṣṭhī Saṅṭaka who belonged to the Brahmanīya *Santāna*(?).

For similar type see Pl. XVI, Fig. 18 from the Vasantgaḍh group of bronzes.¹⁵ The *vilva-padma* motif is seen even in Ellora sculptures.

67.13 *Tri-tīrthika of Pārśvanātha*

Brass. Western Indian Style. Probably Vasantgaḍh.

c. 1050 A.D. Ht. 13.2 cm. (Fig. 18).

The Jina, with a square face, elongated ears, eyes, lips and nose indicated by incised lines, *ushnīsha* on the head and broad shoulders is seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* on a *vilva-padma*, suggested by incised pattern, under the canopy of the seven-hooded serpent. On his right and left are Rishabhanātha and Mahāvira respectively, in *kāyotsarga pose*. On two independent pedestals projecting on either side are seated the Yaksha Dharapendra and Yakshī Padmāvatī. In front of the *pīṭha* appears the *dharmachakra* flanked by a deer and four Grahas on either side.

The following words are inscribed on the back:

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

67.12 *Tri-tīrthika of Pārśvanātha*

Brass. Western Indian style. Probably Vasantgaḍh.

c. 1050 A.D. Ht. 15.5 cm. (Fig. 19).

The Jina is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a *vilva-padma* with an open work lotus scroll. He has a squarish face, elongated ears that touch the shoulder and prominent *ushnīsha*. He is flanked on his right by Rishabhanātha, Vidyādevī and Yaksha Dharapendra and on his left by Mahāvira, Vidyādevī and Yakshī Padmāvatī.

The Vidyādevīs here are only two armed and should normally suggest Digambara tradition,¹⁶ though, evidently, our bronze is in Śvetāmbara tradition. The two Vidyādevīs normally accompanying Pārśvanātha are Chakreśvarī and Vairoṭyā¹⁷ who, on a similar bronze from the Akota hoard¹⁸ are depicted with four arms. A small circular projection in the centre of the pedestal supports a *dharmachakra* flanked by a deer on either side.

¹⁵ U. P. Shah, "Bronze Hoard from Vasantgaḍh", *Latit Kālī* Nos. 1-2, 1955-56, pp. 35-65.

¹⁶ U. P. Shah, "Iconography of the Sixteen Jain Mahavidyās," *JISOA*, Vol. XV, pp. 114-170.

¹⁷ U. P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes*, p. 53, Pl. 55.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Pl. 55.

Special mention may be made of the serpent-hood of and the halos behind Rishabhanātha and Mahāvīra. These draw parallel with similar bronzes from Akota, Vasantgaḍh¹⁹ and Līlvādeva.²⁰

The present bronze also demonstrates an advancement in the technique of casting as the main figure is detached from the back plate which thus forms a curved back-drop.

The partially legible inscription on the reverse mentions :

A Śrāvaka named Go (chi) who probably belonged to Chandrakula and (Madha) Gachchha.

67.10 *Tri-tīrthika of Pārśvanātha.*

Brass. Western Indian style. Probably Vasantgaḍh.

Dated Sāṃvat 1110 = 1053 A.D. Ht. 20.9 cm. (Fig. 20).

The Jīna is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a cushion placed on a lotus resting on a *śimhāsana*. He has round face, broad nose, thin lips, elongated ears and the silver inlaid eyes with sunken pupils; silver inlaid *śrīvatsa* mark appears on the chest.

He is flanked by the haloed Rishabhanātha and Mahāvīra on the right and left respectively and the Yaksha Dharapendita and Yakshi Padmāvatī are seated on independent lotuses on either side. On the pedestal is represented the *chakra* flanked by a seated deer on either side. The *Navagrahas* too have been depicted. The serpent coil, which forms his halo, and the Vidyādhara have been elaborately treated, the leaves indicating the Jīna's *bodhi-śiksha* Dhātakī (*Grislea tomentosa*).

The inscription on the reverse is illegible excepting for the word नमो.

The recessed type pedestal is an innovation of the tenth century.

67.14 *Tri-tīrthika of an unidentified Jīna.*

Brass. Western Indian style. Probably Vasantgaḍh.

Dated Sāṃvat 1218 = 1161 A.D.

Ht. 13.9 cm.

The Jīna is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a cushion resting on a carpeted *śimhāsana*, under a *chhatra*. He is flanked by standing figure of his Jīna and male

¹⁹ U. P. Shah, "Jain Bronzes from Vasantgaḍh," *Lalit Kala*, No. 1-2, Pl. XVII, fig. 10.

²⁰ S. R. Rao, "Jain Bronzes from Līlvādeva," *Journal of Indian Museum*, Vol. XIII, Pl. XII, fig. 2.

chauri-bearer on either side while his attendant Yaksha and Yakshi are seated on either side of the *śikhāṣana*. Two Vidyādhara carrying garlands appear in the upper panel and the raised portion on the *pīṭha* suggests the presence of Navagrahas. The foliage pattern on the back-plate represents his *dīkṣā-vṛkṣa*.

The inscription on the back indicates a date V.S. 1218 = 1161 A.D. The rest of it is illegible.

67.16 *Tri-tīrthika of an unidentified Jina.*

Brass. Western Indian style. Probably Vasantgaḍh.

C. 1150-60 A.D. Ht. 11.5 cm. (Fig. 21).

The Jina is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a cushion resting on a *śiṣa-padma*. He is flanked by a figure of his Jina and a male *chauri*-bearer on either side, while on either side of the lotus pedestal are seated his attendant Yaksha and Yakshi. The halo is marked by incised pattern on the back plate above which appears a *chhatra* flanked by a Vidyādhara on either side. The foliage pattern on the back plate represents the *dīkṣā-vṛkṣa*.

The inscription on the back reads :

श्री (म त) (वा) (द) वाच संताने प (उ) ज श्राविकया कारिता ।

The image was made by a Śrāvika named Pa. belonging to the Śrīmat. vāgha (Santāna).

67.25 *Pañcha-tīrthika of an unidentified Jina.*

Brass. Western Indian style. Rajasthan.

C. 12th century A.D. Ht. 8.4 cm. (Fig. 22).

The bronze is a unique composition symbolically representing the three worlds.

The nether world is represented by the stalk of the *śiṣa-padma* (?) flanked by a Yaksha and Yakshi; the middle world is represented by the Jina seated in *dhyānamudrā* on the lotus and flanked by a standing Jina on either side, his halo represented by circular lotus pattern; the astral world is represented by a seated Jina on either side above the two standing figures.

The back-plate which is plain and tapering at the top has incised floral pattern. The composition which depicts the *pañcha-tīrthika* separated from the main pedestal and balanced on the heads of the Yaksha and Yakshi and the lotus stem demonstrates an advanced technique of casting.

- 67.26 *Pañcha-tīrthika of an unidentified Jina.*
Brass. Western Indian style. Rajasthan.
C. 12th century A.D. Ht. 8.6 cm.

On a raised *viśva-padma*, whose stalk is flanked by a seated Yaksha and Yakshī and a donor-couple, is seated the Jina in *dhyānamudrā*. He is flanked by a standing Jina on either side. The cross-bar which is supported on the back-plate, is surmounted by a circular plain halo flanked by a seated Jina on either side and topped by a *chhatra*.

The bronze is highly defaced. In treatment of composition it is parallel to No. 67.25.

- 67.24 *Pañcha-tīrthika of Pārśvanātha.*
Brass. Western Indian style. Rajasthan.
C. 12th century A.D. Ht. 9.7 cm.

The square-faced Jina with broad shoulders and heavy limbs is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a cushion pedestal under the serpent canopy. He is flanked by standing Rishabhanātha and Mahāvīra to his right and left respectively and above them are represented two more seated Jinās, one on either side, on the *torana* arch. At the base of the pedestal are represented the Yaksha Dhara-nendra and Yakshī Padmāvatī.

The treatment is very archaic.

- 67.21 *Unidentified Jina.*
Brass. Western Indian style. Rajasthan.
C. 12th century A.D. Ht. 14.9 cm.

The Jina with a round face, broad shoulders and short neck is seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a *viśva-padma* with open scroll pattern. He is flanked by a male *chauri*-bearer on either side and on the lower plane appear seated figures of his attendant Yaksha and Yakshī. On the pedestal, in the centre is the *chakra* flanked by a deer while the Navagrahas in groups of four and five appear at either end of the pedestal. The halo is a circular plate with lotus pattern supporting a *chhatra* surmounted by a *kalasha*; a Vidyadhāra appears on either side.

- 67.18 *Pārśvanātha.*
Brass. Western Indian style. Rajasthan.
Dated Samvat 1217 = 1160 A.D. Ht. 20.8 cm. (Fig. 23).

Under a snake canopy the Jina is seated in *dhyanamudrā* on a cushion placed on a carpeted *simhāsana* resting on a *tri-ratha* pedestal. The face is broad with short neck. The eyes and the *śrivatsa* mark are inlaid with silver. He is flanked on either side by a standing male *chauri*-bearer and seated figures of the Yaksha Dharapendra and donor-male and Yakshī Padmāvatī and donor-female on his right and left respectively. The Navagrahas are represented in groups of three on the pedestal. The back plate which suggests an architectural treatment comprises of round vertical pillars supporting a cross-bar surmounted by a semi-circular perforated arch with flying Vidyādhara and topped by a *kalāśa*. The bronze shows a clear departure from the conventional style.

The date is inscribed on the back.

67.20 *Neminātha*.

Brass. Western Indian style. Rajasthan.

Dated Sāṃvat 1228 = 1171 A.D. Ht. 15.5 cm.

Identical in composition to the bronze image No. 67.18 described above with following points of deviation.

1. The pedestal is plain and not *tri-ratha*.
2. The crowbar is supported not on rounded pillars but on broad columns.
3. The halo is a plain plate with lotus pattern.

The inscription which is partially legible records the image of Neminātha made by Tha-Rāvadeva son of (?) Śrāvaka belonging to the Vada(dī)ya Gachchha on the 12th day of Māgsar.

67.19 *Mahāvīra*.

Brass. Western Indian style. Rajasthan.

Dated Sāṃvat 1243 = 1186 A.D. Ht. 17.4 cm. (Fig. 24).

This bronze is identical to No. 67.20 though less elaborate and more crude. The only deviation is that instead of the serpent-hood the halo is a perforated lotus pattern. The eyes are inlaid in silver.

The inscription on the back is partially legible: It records the image of Vīra (Mahāvīra?) made by Va(hu)ḍaka, son of (Vo)dharadeva and Pūnasiri and that it was consecrated by Viraprabha-Sūri.

67.17 *Chaturvīṃśati-Paṭṭa of Dharmanātha*

Brass. Western Indian style. Gujarat/Rajasthan.

Dated Śaṃvāt 1484 = 1427 A.D. Ht. 28.5 cm.

The Jina with broad face, broad shoulders and squattish torso, is seated in *dhyaṇamudrā* on a cushion resting on a *gaja-siṃhāsana* placed on a *pañcharatha* pedestal with perforated design and the figure of a Vidyādevī in the centre. The halo is a perforated lotus and his circular *chhatra* is flanked by an elephant on either side. He is flanked by a Jina with a serpent-hood canopy and a seated Jina above him on either side. At the base of the *siṃhāsana*, to his right are two donor figures and seated Yaksha Kinnara and to his left are two donor figures and the seated Yakshi Kandarpā. Two more kneeling figures, one on either side, appear on the pedestal. The *toraṇa* surrounding the main figure is an architectural conception; a *stambha* on either side has five seated Jinas, in niches, in a vertical row; these *stambhas* support horizontal *piḍhas* with rows of one, three and five seated Jinas similar to those of the *stambha* figures. The recurved *makara-toraṇa* with perforated lotus pattern on either side of the *piḍhas* terminates in a *kalāśa* at the top. On either of the extreme sides appear a *chauri*-bearer carrying a *kalāśa* above which is the *vyāla* motif.

The inscription on the back mentions the names of members of the donor family and the dedication of the *chaturvīṃśati paṭṭaka* of Dharmanātha at Pra(g)tapāgachchha made by Śrī Somasundara Sūri.

TWO NEPALI BRONZES IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

Sadashiv Gorakshkar

The history of art in Nepal as recorded by Tārānātha indicates two currents of influences, one from the Ancient West and the other from Eastern India that permeated into Nepal and moulded the character of its art. In spite of its association with Buddhism from earliest times, the earliest evidence of art in Nepal belongs to a much later period — that of the Lichchhavis and is Vaishnavite. Almost contemporaneously, the influence of a more comprehensive Buddhism that spread from Nalanda and later from Vikramasīlā reached Nepal along with the art forms from Eastern India. While both these and those from China and Central Asia coming through Tibet after the thirteenth century assimilated and given a distinct Nepalese characteristic by the Newari craftsmen, it is interesting to observe that a trait of later Gupta tradition from Northern India appears to have been perpetuated in the rather heavy and formal Vishṇu images in various forms almost upto the seventeenth century, whereas the supple and informal type of the Eastern school with its elongated torso became formulated in the Buddhist images.

To this second group belongs a magnificent standing bronze image of Maitreya (Figs. 25-28) poised on a lunate shaped pedestal, which has been added to the Museum's collection.¹ Solidly cast in the *cire-perdue* method it is gilded in keeping with the practice in vogue in Nepal. The figure is in *deibhanga* with the right leg straight and the left bent forward in an expression of ease. The face is broad with full cheeks and short chin, prominent nose, smiling lips and painted eyes with a downcast look rapt in meditation. The torso is sensuously modelled with a sharp leftward bend at the waist, balanced by the flexed left leg; the lower portion is slightly more elongated than the upper one. In contrast to the rather flat but broad shoulders, the torso narrows at the waist and is rounded.

The *antarīya* or the lower garment sticks closely to the body through which the legs appear round and slim. The feet are rather crudely modelled and disproportionate but the over size is apparently in conformity with the *mahāpurushalakṣaṇas*² or the attributes of a divine being. In the right hand, in *vitarka-mudrā*, he holds a perforated bead, (Fig. 26) and in the left hand, a spouted *kalasa* (Fig. 27). The hair is combed backwards and tied into a tall

¹ Acc. No. 67-39. Ht. 72.2 cm. Gift in memory of late Smt. Amaravati Gupta.

² Stella Kramrisch, "Emblems of Universal Being", *JISOA*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1935, p. 149.

jaṭāmukha represented in thickly incised pattern while the back side is plain (Fig. 28). A pearl string enmeshes the hair and the *saṅkha* protrude behind the ears. An effigy of the haloed *stūpa* supported on a lotus stands in prominent relief in the *jaṭāmukha*.

The *antariya* is decorated with lozenges, eyelets and zigzags in horizontal bands separated from each other by double engraved lines and it reaches a little above the ankles and is pleated on either side. The three banded *pariyatikā* or the scarf slips down the thighs and is looped to fall in stiff formal folds merging with the pleats on the left side.

The torso is bare but for the antelope skin worn on his left shoulder and the *yajñopavīta* worn transversely across the left shoulder, passing within the *udarabandha* is tucked in a loop at the girdle. The *yajñopavīta* and the *pariyatikā* running parallel to the axis of the body's angular bend establish a pleasing rhythmic pattern. The *udarabandha* is tied above the navel with its knot on the right side. In his few ornaments are included the *ratnakundalas*, a two-stranded necklace with a tiara in the centre, plain armlets with terminals that look like lotus buds, wristlets and a two-stranded waist girdle fastened with a half lotus clasp.

Among the attributes that determine the identification of this figure as Maitreya are the effigy of the *stūpa* in his *jaṭāmukha*, his hands forming the *vitarka* and the *varada-mudrā*, a *kalasa* in his left hand and the antelope skin over his shoulder. "It is in this attitude," mentions Getty, "that he is represented in the group of eight Bodhisattavas."³ As Bodhisattava he is always represented standing, "with his long hair hanging over his shoulders, while a part is caught up in a knot over his head."⁴ Yet another cognizance is the *pariyatikā* around the waist tied up in a knot on the left.⁵

In the *Sādhana-mālā* there is only one *dhyāna* describing him solely while many others describe him as in attendance on some other principal deity. In so far as our image is concerned the description obtained in the *Durgatiparīśodhana-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* is closely applicable:

तत्र पूर्वस्यां पट्टिकायां मैत्रेयः पीतः सव्यकरेण नागकेसरकुसुमं वामेन कुण्डीं दधानः ।

"there on the eastern border is Maitreya of yellow (golden) complexion holding in his right hand the *nāgakesara* flower and in his left, the flask."⁶

³ Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1914, p. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20. Surprisingly, however, he has been considered as Maitreya Buddha in the Lamaistic Pantheon. See W. E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, Vol. II, New York, 1965, (Reprint), p. 202. Fig. 6A 48-609.

⁶ *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, ed. by B. Bhattacharya, G.O. Series, Baroda, 1949, p. 68 (text).

The cult of Maitreya originated and developed in Gandhāra where he was given independent status evident from the number of images available. From there, through Central Asia, it reached China where, during the fifth century, it caught the imagination of the Chinese and triumphed over its Taoist rivals more since it assured both the privileged and the under-privileged of their wellbeing in the kingdom on earth.⁷ The theology of Maitreya's role as Messiah assured the growth of his worship and it is likely that the idea penetrated into Nepal from China more than from India and in the early centuries of the Christian era.

In Nepal proper, where the *Soayñibhū purāṇa* appears to have exercised considerable influence as evident from the number of manuscripts available, Śākyamuni, last of the Seven earthly Buddhas, and Maitreya—the Buddha to be—were commonly worshipped. Even the T'ang annals, as early as the eighth century, note that Maitreya was highly respected by the Nepalese.⁸

Iconographically, Maitreya as a Bodhisattava is considered to be wearing princely ornaments and we do come across independent images of Maitreya wearing rich ornaments in Pāla sculptures.⁹ Nevertheless, there are examples of austere dressed Maitreya images in Chinese sculptures.¹⁰ In the early Buddhist images in India, at Sarnath¹¹ and Karle,¹² we come across panels assignable to fifth-sixth centuries, showing plainly clad Maitreya in attendance on his Kulesha Vairochana. The austere simplicity of our image can thus be explained as indicating that it belonged to a bigger *maṇḍala*. Such practice was evidently common in the monasteries of Nepal and Tibet; two *paṭas* from Nepal¹³ although somewhat later in date illustrate this concept.

The perforated bead-like object held in the right hand between the thumb and the third finger cannot be easily deciphered. This gesture of fingers appears either while holding the rosary¹⁴ or the stem of a lotus.¹⁵ The holding of the vase in the palm is unlike the position we come across in similar Gandhāran images where it is almost invariably held by the neck. On the other hand a close parallel to the method adopted in placing the flask

⁷ Wai Kam Ho, 'The Future Buddha Maitreya in a Northern Wei Stela,' *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* for October, 1960, p. 184.

⁸ D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Part I, Calcutta, 1965, p. 576.

⁹ R. D. Banerji, 'Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture', *A.S.I.*, New Imp. Series, Vol. XXXIII, 1933, Pl. X(a).

¹⁰ Wai Kam Ho, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1.

¹¹ *A.S.I. A.R.*, 1906-07, Pl. XXIX (b).

¹² H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II, Pl. 80.

¹³ *The Art of India & Nepal*, Catalogue of the Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection, Boston, 1966, p. 108, Figs. 121-122.

¹⁴ H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Fig. C2. See also Padmapani in fig. 122 in the *Heeramanek Catalogue*.

¹⁵ R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, Pl. LIX, Figs. a to d.

in the hand of our image is provided by the figure of Maitreya from Sarnath¹⁶ discussed above as also the Parel Mahadeva.¹⁷ In Eastern India and Nepal this mode of holding an object appears to have developed into a cliché both in Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures.¹⁸

A stylistic appraisal of our image indicates its close proximity to the style of the MS. illustrations in Bengal and Nepal in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁹ Graceful angularity of the features, the flowing bend of the body and elongated torso are the chief characteristics of these illustrations. Even the style of the hair combed back and rising into a tall *jaśāmukuta* is reminiscent of the hair-style in these illustrations. In the tenth-eleventh century sculptures from Eastern India these features are discernible, while in Nepal a good comparison is provided by the figure of Maheśvara from the Uma-Maheśvara group assigned to the ninth century.²⁰ The broad forehead, the small pointed chin, the straight nose and angular features of our image obviously reflect the characteristics that originated at Sarnath and developed at Nalanda. The features of the seated Bodhisattva from Nalanda²¹ and Brahma from Paharpur²² could be considered its closest parallels. In Nepal, by the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries the face tends to become more squarish as is evident from the figures in the two *paśas* in the Heeramanek collection.²³ The bronze image of Avalokiteśvara in the Cincinnati Museum²⁴ and even that of Śākyamuni in the Tibet House,²⁵ New Delhi could be placed in this category. The mode of wearing the effigy of the *stūpa* with a halo in the coiffure is evidently derived from the Pāla counterparts and even the *stūpa* with its lotus base is distinctly Eastern Indian in character. In the mode of wearing the *dhottī*, its stance and the attributes referred to above, Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi in the Nalanda Museum²⁶ suggests a convincing prototype.

Another attribute that deserves mention is the *udarabandha*. It is a common feature of sculptures in the south. At Ellora we come across instances of tying the knot on one side as in our image. Both in India and Nepal it has been a characteristic of Vaishnavite images. It is rarely seen in

¹⁶ *A.S.J. A.R.*, 1906-07, Pl. XXIX (b).

¹⁷ *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 2, 1931-1932, Pl. VII, Fig. 3.

¹⁸ R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLIII, Figs. a-b.

¹⁹ *The Way of the Buddha*, Publication Division, Government of India, Col. Pls.

²⁰ Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal*, New York, 1964, p. 41, Fig. XL.

²¹ Stella Weiner, 'From Gupta to Pala Art', *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXV, Fig. 32.

²² *Ibid.*, Fig. 39.

²³ *The Art of India and Nepal*, Catalogue of Heeramanek Collection, Figs. 121, 122.

²⁴ Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, Fig. 19.

²⁵ P. Pal, *Art of Tibet*, New York, 1969, Fig. 10. The Tibet House has another bronze image of Avalokiteśvara which stylistically compares to the Cincinnati image. A comparative study of this figure and the one illustrated by Dr. Pal not only reveal many points of similarity but suggest that both these were modelled by the same sculptor. Hence a later date is more probable.

²⁶ H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II, Pl. 378.

Buddhist sculptures of the contemporary Eastern school, but it does appear in the manuscript illustrations of the eleventh century indicating the existence of the practice.²⁷

Even the pearl string ornament worn in the hair of our image appears in eastern sculptures by the eleventh century and seems to have continued during the Sena rule of Bengal. With the conquest of Nepal by Nānyadeva in 1094 A.D., "stone images of the Sena school, which had assimilated the ornateness of contemporary Kanarese sculptures, found their way into Nepal".²⁸ That certain features as this have been so intimately copied, indicates that there has not been a wide gap of time between our image and the images that served as its prototype.

Its proximate counterpart in Nepali sculptures is the Padmapāni from Singha-Baha.²⁹ The elongated torso, the eyebrows, the smiling lips, the earrings, necklace, armlets and wristlets and even the mode of wearing the scarf are comparable features. The right side attendant of Sūrya from Thapahiti,³⁰ dated 1083 A.D., with his broad shoulders, accentuated bend in the body and the mode of holding an object in the left hand provides another close parallel and suggests a style that was in vogue in the eleventh century.

It can thus be safely inferred that our image is very closely related in style to the eleventh-twelfth century sculptures from Eastern India and Nepal and could be assigned to the first half of the twelfth century if not earlier.

II

The second bronze sculpture in this Museum's collection³¹ shows the god Nārāyaṇa flanked by Lakṣmī to his right and Garuḍa to his left, each individually placed on a lotus. The *tri-ratha* pedestal and the images though meant for each other have been cast separately in copper and then joined. (Fig. 29)

The main deity, Nārāyaṇa stands erect, his feet drawn apart and with a slight forward thrust of the abdomen and holds, starting with the lower right hand in clockwise direction, lotus, wheel, mace and the conch. The two front hands are held in *varada* while the upper right and left hands are bent at the elbow and held upwards. The conch in the lower left hand is held horizontally, a practice almost invariably obtained in Nepal.³² The upper body is bare except for a *muktāvali* and a *yajñopavīta*. He wears bracelets, armlets in the form

²⁷ *The Way of the Buddha*. Publication Division, Government of India, Colour Pl. VI, VIII.

²⁸ Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36. Fig. VIII.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Fig. X.

³¹ Acc. No. 68.1 Size: 24.6 × 11.6 cm. Gift of the late Shri Boman Behram, Bombay.

³² Pratapaditya Pal, *Vaishnava Iconology in Nepal*, Calcutta, 1970, p. 69.

of *sarparalayas*, *patra kundalas* and a bejewelled *mukuta* with *śankhapatras* protruding behind the ears. He wears the *śakachekhha dhott* upto the knees, which is secured at the waist by a waist band and its pleated folds fall between the legs. A looped scarf over his thighs is tied in a knot at the left with its tassels, falling sideways, supported by a lotus stalk. The lotus stalk on his right has been placed apparently to balance the composition.

On a smaller *bhadra-pīṭha* to his right stands Lakshmī, in *atibhāṅga*, with her right hand in *varada-mudrā* and the left holding the stalk of a lotus. She also wears only the lower garment secured at the waist by a girdle and a scarf looped in a knot on her right. She wears a diadem; her hair is tied in a bun with locks of hair falling on her shoulders.

On a similar *bhadra-pīṭha*, on Nārāyaṇa's left, stands his *vāhana* Garuḍa in a human form with his hands in *añjali-mudrā* and his wings forming a cape at the back. His hair is tied by a head-band while his other ornaments are comprised of coiled *nāgas*.

The trinity has been grouped well as a formal composition. The erect posture of the central figure is well contrasted by the side figures with their bodies flexed outward and their heads nodding towards the central figure. The sweep of Garuḍa's wings is balanced on the outer side by the tassels of Lakshmī's garment and on the innerside by her *lola-hasta*. Even the *pariyastikā* of Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa have been looped to visually suggest a continuity of line. That the Newari sculpture has always been conscious about form and composition is well demonstrated by this image.

On the back of the pedestal is a dedicatory inscription (Fig. 30) which records the gift of Lakshmī—Nārāyaṇa—Garuḍa *mūrti* by one Natasimha Bhaṭṭa in the first half of *Aśvin* in N.S. 818 = A.D. 1698.

The dedication of the image of Nārāyaṇa accompanied by Lakshmī and Garuḍa evidently suggests the observance of the *ananta vrata* by its donor on the analogy of iconographically identical *paṭas* in this Museum's collection.³³ All the three Vaiṣṇavite *paṭas* in the Museum bear inscriptions and one of them clearly mentions the completion of the *ananta-vrata* by its donors. In all the three *paṭas* Viṣṇu is accompanied by Lakshmī and Garuḍa.

The antiquity of the *ananta-vrata* in Nepal is difficult to determine. Yet, if sculptural representation of this theme is any evidence, the sculptures from Changu Narayana³⁴ and Deo Patan³⁵ would suggest that by the tenth

³³ Pratapaditya Pal, 'Paintings from Nepal in the Prince of Wales Museum,' *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 10 (1967), pp. 17-20, figs. 19-22.

³⁴ Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal*, New York, 1964, fig. VI.

³⁵ Pratapaditya Pal, *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal*, Calcutta, 1970, fig. 30.

century the theme was gaining stability; conversely the *vrata* was becoming popular.

Dr. Pal refers to the *ananta-vrata* as a popular Vaishnavite rite in Nepal.³⁶ This *Urata* is performed on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādra. The *Agni purāṇa* ordains that during this *vrata* Ananta is worshipped as Nārāyaṇa,³⁷ which corroborates our surmise that our image was dedicated on the completion of the *ananta-vrata*.

In our sculpture as well as the *paṭa* mentioned above Lakshmi is depicted with two hands following the formula laid down in the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.³⁸ The *Aparājita-prichhā* ordains that Garuḍa when in the presence of Viṣṇu may be depicted as having a human form with a sharp beak like face.³⁹

Representations of Viṣṇu attended upon by Lakshmi and Garuḍa are fewer in India proper when compared to those available in Nepal. In seeking to explain this iconographic type it may be mentioned that Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa is the Supreme Being⁴⁰ who rests on the coils of Ananta or the serpent Śeṣa in the cosmic ocean. During such periods he is attended upon by Lakshmi and Garuḍa. It is, therefore, significant that he is represented in accompaniment with Lakshmi and Garuḍa in sculptures such as ours. Even though the Śeṣa has not been represented in this group in bronze, it appears to have been represented in an illustration from the *Śivadharmā* MS. dated 1139 A.D.⁴¹

Stylistically, the plastic form of our sculpture is in the same tradition as the MS. illustration referred to above, or in the stele of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu in the Changu Narayana Temple.⁴² It is also manifest in the stele at Deo Patan or the Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu in bronze in the Boston Museum.⁴³ As observed in the beginning this particular mannerism of a stiff and formal type becomes almost a cliché in Vaishnavite images and, but for its date, our bronze could also have been assigned to the thirteenth-fourteenth century.

³⁶ Pratapaditya Pal, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁸ हरेः समीपे कर्तव्या लक्ष्मीस्तु द्विभुजा नृप।
दिव्यरूपाम्बुजकरा सर्वाभरण भूषणा॥ *Vishṇudharmottara*, 82 (2).

³⁹ नररूपसमाकारः तु कृत्वा शोभनासिकः।
भुजोपर्य्यम्बपक्षो मुकुटालङ्कृतस्तथा॥ *Aparājita-prichhā* 219 (46).

⁴⁰ J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vishuism*, Utrecht, 1934, p. 151.

⁴¹ Pratapaditya Pal, *Vaishnava Iconology in Nepal*, fig. 33.

⁴² Pratapaditya Pal, 'Vaishnava Art from Nepal in the Museum,' *Boston Museum Bulletin*, Vol. LXX, 1967, No. 340, Fig. 8.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Figs. 6-7.

THREE METAL SCULPTURES FROM KASHMIR

Sadashiv Gorakshkar

In the year 1967, the Prince of Wales Museum acquired two metal sculptures from Kashmir. Of these one was locally purchased and the other came as a gift.¹ Both the sculptures are important for the study of Buddhist art in India.

The first bronze² (Fig. 31) is a representation of Śākyamuni, seated cross-legged on a lotus resting on a high rectangular pedestal, the treatment of its lotus petals being deep and rounded. This image has an ovaloid face, double chin, prominent nose, arched eyebrows, half-closed eyes with straight upper eyelids, ears with perforated and elongated lobes and small mouth with dimpled ends adding a sensitive grace to his countenance. The hair is curled with a prominent *ushnisha*; the *ūrṇā* and the eyes are inlaid in silver; the neck has three naturally modelled folds—a vestige of the Gupta tradition. The torso is slim and elongated with a feeling for roundness. His right hand is broken at the armpit and his left forearm is missing;³ it may, however, not be difficult to conjecture that the hands symbolised *dharmachakra mudrā* judging from a similar example from Fatehpur (Kangra) now in the Lahore Museum.⁴ Alternately, the right hand might have been in *abhaya mudrā* and the left may have held the *saṃghāṭī* as displayed in the image of Buddha from the Phyang monastery in Ladakh.⁵ The latter seems more probable as would be seen from the discussion to follow.

The Buddha wears the *saṃghāṭī* in what has been termed as the 'Open Mode'.⁶ It goes under the right armpit across the left shoulder leaving the right shoulder, the arm and the breast bare. The upper hem is gathered in thick broad fold over the left shoulder with an end thrown over the back, while the lower hem line passes over the left hand. The *antarvāṣṭa* or the lower garment, which reaches upto the ankles, is depicted by a pattern of incised

¹ Gift in memory of the late Smt. Amaravati Gupta.

² Acc. No. 67.3. Ht. 22.7 cm.

³ There are traces of soldering on both hands. It was later understood that someone had attempted to fix these broken limbs with modern pieces but since these appeared ugly they were removed.

⁴ J. Ph. Vogel: "Inscribed Brass Statuette from Fatehpur (Kangra)", *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1904-05, pp. 107-109. Pl. XXXV.

⁵ Madanjeet Singh, *Himalayan Art*, London, 1968, Pl. 53.

⁶ A. B. Griswold, 'Prolegomena to the study of the Buddha's dress in Chinese sculpture', *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXVI, 2, pp. 85-131, fig. 2.

folds. It may be observed that neither the *saṃghāṭī* nor the *antarāṭṭa* are pleated. Its plain treatment is reminiscent of the practice that arose at Sarnath.

A lug at the back was, perhaps, intended for the parasol. The inscription on the pedestal has been read as *Kyurnāra*.⁷

The second bronze⁸ (Figs. 32-34) is a standing image of Avalokiteśvara with the right hand in *abhaya mudrā* while the left hand, hanging by his side, holds the stalk of the lotus. The Bodhisattva is standing on a full blown lotus resting on a rectangular pedestal. The horse-shoe-shaped aperture at the back of the pedestal, now sealed with a copper lid, was, perhaps, meant for depositing *mantras* inscribed on paper, a common feature in most Tibetan and Nepali bronzes.

The Bodhisattva stands with slightly flexed body; his left leg is drawn forward in an expression of ease. His face is ovaloid with broad jaws, full cheeks double chin, small but well marked mouth, sharp nose, arched eyebrows and the half-closed eyes with straight upper eyelids. The ears have long and perforated lobes. The eyes and *ūrpā* are inlaid in silver. The face has a distinct Mongoloid feeling as could be judged from Fig. 34. The neck, following the Gupta tradition, is *kambu-grīvā* i.e., with folds, but, unlike the previous bronze, has a more schematic than natural treatment. The shoulders are drooping but broad and the torso is slim, elongated and rather flat. The abdomen is carefully modelled and the deep navel with a bifurcation at the top demonstrates a distinguishing Kashmiri characteristic. The limbs are rounded and well modelled. Yet, generally, the modelling tends towards schematic treatment; the long pointed fingers accentuate the flat but sensitive treatment of the palm. He wears a three-pointed crown with the effigy of Amitābha in *dhyāna mudrā* seated on lotus pedestal; the hair locks fall loosely on his shoulders. He wears *ratna kuṇḍalas* while *śaṅkhaśatras* protrude from behind his ears. Among his other ornaments are an *ekāvalī*, a necklace with a pendant, armlets with medallions and bracelets. A beaded *yajñopavīta* crosses his left shoulder and a jewelled waistband fastens his *dhōṭī*. A *vanamālā* commencing from his shoulders passes over his arms and falls in a loop reaching his ankles. It is, however, the treatment of the *virigāṭī* (antelope-skin) and the *dhōṭī* that deserve mention. The antelope-skin passes as a broad scarf over his left shoulder across his chest, under the right armpit and is tied in a knot in the centre of the chest; the head of the antelope is silhouetted between the body and the left arm. The *dhōṭī* which is patterned with interchanging lozenges and half lotus medallions in bands of parallel lines, is worn *sakachha* and reaches upto the knees; the right end, pleated in the centre, falls in a thin zig-zag pattern between the legs. A *kāyabandha* is tied around the hips with a knot in the centre. The stem of the

⁷ Kindly read for us by the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore.

⁸ Acc. No. 67.5. Ht. with pedestal 68.3 cm. and without pedestal 52.3 cm. Gift in memory of the Late Smt. Amaravati Gupta.

lotus rises from the base on his left, is twisted in the middle where it is held by the Bodhisattva, and the full-blown lotus (*nīlotpala*), a bud and a leaf rise to the shoulder of the Bodhisattva. The back, as in most Kashmiri bronzes, is partially modelled. Traces of broken metal on the pedestal serve only to indicate that there must once have been an aureole.

The lotus held by him, the *myrājina* over his shoulders and above all the effigy of his spiritual father Amitābha in the coiffeur establish his identity as Avalokiteśvara. With the development of the Mahāyāna doctrine, there gradually developed the Buddhist Trinity⁹ consisting of Amitāyus, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. As Conze remarks, "Assimilated by Buddhism, Avalokiteśvara becomes a great Bodhisattva, so great that he is nearly as perfect as Buddha".¹⁰ His spiritual father Amitābha was also identified with Amitāyus and among the texts that have been composed in his veneration, the *Sukhāvati Vyūha* is the best known.¹¹ This *Vyūha* refers to Avalokiteśvara as the son of Buddha¹² or the noble minded Bodhisattva, "who have been born in that Buddha country are all endowed with the thirty-two marks of a great man, possessed of perfect members, skilled in meditation and wisdom, clever in all kinds of wisdom, having sharp organs, having well-restrained organs, having organs of sense capable of thorough knowledge, not mean, possessed of the five kinds of strength, of patience under censure, and of endless and boundless good qualities."¹³

Apart from the various references to his *dhyaṇa* in the *Sādhnamālā*¹⁴ or the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*,¹⁵ there is yet another interesting reference to his *dhyaṇa* in the *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra*. Among other attributes, it states, "On the top of his head is a heavenly crown of gems like those that are fastened (on Indra's head), in which crown there is a transformed Buddha standing, twenty-five *yojanas* high."¹⁶ For evident reasons this *sūtra* further states: "Whosoever will meditate on Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara should first meditate on the turban of his head, and then on his heavenly crown."¹⁷

In the Northern Buddhist pantheon Avalokiteśvara was equally venerated as was Maitreya. Fa Hien has recorded that the Mahāyānists in Mathura were in the habit of presenting offerings to the Prajñā-Pāramitā, to Mañjuśrī and to Avalokiteśvara. In addition to Kapiśa, Udyāna, Kanauj, Gayā, and

⁹ Edward Conze, *Buddhism Its Essence and Development*, New York, 1959 (Reprint), p. 147.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

¹² *Sukhāvati Vyūha*, Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts, reprinted from S.B.E., New York, 1969, p. 46, XXXI-13.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 52, XXXIV-35.

¹⁴ B. Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography based on Sādhnamālā*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 124.

¹⁵ *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Ed. B. Bhattacharya, G.O.S., Baroda, 1949, p. 26 (introduction).

¹⁶ *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra*, Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts, reprinted from S.B.E., New York, 1969, p. 182, XIX.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.

the Kapota monastery in Maharashtra, even in Kashmir, "the miraculous statues of this most popular and helpful Bodhisattva" were found in large numbers.¹⁸

While making a stylistic evaluation of the two images, the parallel for the seated Buddha is provided by the bronze image of the seated Buddha from Fatehpur (Kangra) published by Vogel, mentioned earlier. The other bearing still closer resemblance is the figure in the Phyang monastery in Ladakh. Both, the Fatehpur and the Phyang images have pedestals with lions flanking an Atlante. Mr. Barrett has not accepted the dating of the Fatehpur Buddha to the sixth century as suggested by Vogel^{18a} though both of them are silent about its other stylistic affinities. The dating of Vogel was based on paleographic consideration of the inscription on the pedestal. Mr. Barrett, however assigns it to the period of Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa (A.D. 725-760) on the analogy of certain motifs which he traces to contemporary monuments in Kashmir of the eighth century A.D. Our bronze apart from displaying its very close stylistic similarity with the Phyang Buddha, bears an inscription (read as *Kyurgūra*) which also appears on the pedestal of the Phyang Buddha. A close examination of the Phyang Buddha, however, reveals an important feature. The fingers of the right hand seem to be webbed, evidently a *lakṣaṇa* of a Mahāpuruṣa, and a lingering characteristic of the Gupta tradition which we observe even in the Cleveland Buddha.¹⁹ Considering the similarities between the Phyang image and ours, there is reason to believe that the fingers of our image also may have been webbed. The other characteristics that developed during the Gupta period, the smooth and transparent treatment of the robe revealing the bodyform and the snail-shell curls covering the head and the *uṣṇīṣa*, are also observed in our image.

The features such as the smooth and transparent robe and the slim and elongated modelling of the torso deserve scrutiny for stylistic affinity. If the treatment of the robe is reminiscent of the Sarnath style, the modelling recalls the mannerism of the bronze images of Buddha from Nalanda.²⁰ Not only the torso but the treatment of the garment, worn in the 'open mode', including the upper hem line and the incised folds over the ankles, all indicate a close stylistic similarity that may have resulted due to the import into Kashmir both of sculptures and of artists from the Gauda country.

The only point of departure our bronze shows from this Nalanda mannerism or even the Phyang image is the ovaloid modelling of its face; from the Fatehpur image it differs in the treatment of the robe. But these, perhaps, may be attributed to a regional mannerism.

¹⁸ H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Varanasi, 1968 (reprint), p. 96.

^{18a} Douglas Barnett, 'Bronzes from North West India and Western Pakistan', *Lalit Kālā* No. 11, p. 37.

¹⁹ Sherruan Lee, 'Clothed in the Sun: A Buddha and a Surya from Kashmir', *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Vol. LIV, No. 2, Feb. 1967, pp. 43-63, Fig. 3.

²⁰ *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1929-30, pl. XXXIII Figs. (b) (c).

In determining the period and provenance of the image of Avalokiteśvara, its facial features, the torso and even its drapery need examination. Its face as seen from Fig. 34 shows clearly the features developed by Sino-Central Asian tradition. The full double chin, arched eyebrows, half closed eyes, all, suggest contacts with Central Asia through to Kashmir. A perusal of some sculptures and paintings from Kizil²¹ and Tun-huang²² shows remarkable affinities with the facial type of our bronze. The features developed at Tun-huang during the Northern Wei period in the early fourth—fifth century as a result of Buddhist cultural expansion and later on spreading all over China and Turkestan, evolved a distinctive Chinese style incorporating the Gandharan and Gupta influences. The remarks of Dr. Rowland could well be quoted to describe this style. "The faces become more cubic with sharp breaks between the planes of the face and the completely linear treatment of the drapery tends to reduce all feeling of the plastic existence of the body to a flat silhouette."²³ With the advent of the T'ang dynasty, "a new era of purely Indian influences in Chinese Buddhist art begins in the seventh century," during which period, "the haunting abstract style of the sixth century is replaced by a closer imitation of Indian models as a direct result of the new diplomatic and religious contacts with the West."²⁴

The torso of our image reflects this tendency of a flat silhouette that had developed in China and spread all over Japan and Central Asia as is clearly seen from the various Central Asian murals and sculptures.

The three-pointed *mukuta* worn by Avalokiteśvara owes its origin to Central Asia. It could be traced to Tun-huang on the evidence of a silk fragment wherein a seated figure wearing a *mukuta* has been identified as 'crowned Buddha'.²⁵ Corroboration of this inference is provided by the wooden triptych in the Kansas City Museum. Almost all the Bodhisattva figures here display the three-pointed *mukuta*. Though not conclusively, it may be possible to suggest the provenance of this triptych by a consideration of the warrior figures in the central panel of the shrine's two doors. Their armour resembles the type found in Sogdian paintings²⁶ to which area the triptych may be tentatively assigned. Along with other influences, it is quite likely that the three-pointed *mukuta* was introduced into Kashmir and may even have served the prototype for the evolution of the iconography of the Crowned Buddha at Kurkihar.

²¹ Dietrich Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, London, 1964, p. 268, Fig. 64, see the figure at the top. See also, Tamara Talbot Rice, *Ancient Arts of Central Asia*, New York, 1965, Fig. 176.

²² Terukaru Akiyama and Saburo Matsubara, *Arts of China—Buddhist Cave Temples New Researches*, II, Tokyo-Palo Alto, 1959, pls. 80-83.

²³ Benjamin Rowland, *Evolution of the Buddha Image*, New York, p. 23.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁵ Wai-Kam Ho, 'Three seated stone Buddhas', *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Vol. LIII, No. 4, April, 1966, p. 92a fig. 20.

²⁶ Tamara Talbot Rice, *Ancient Arts of Central Asia*, New York, 1965, Fig. 171.

Typical Indian influences, however, are visible in the *śaṅkhapatras*, the *ratna-kundalas*, the *ūrpā*, the *pañjlopavita*, the *vanamālā*, the antelope-skin and more pronouncedly in the treatment of the lower garment. The ivory image of Lokeshvara from Kashmir in the Prince of Wales Museum²⁷ closely parallels our bronze in all respects. The poise of our image is evidently reminiscent of a style which was prominent at Sarnath.²⁸ Dr. Moti Chandra draws our attention to the passages from *Harshacharita* which refers to this mode of wearing the *dhottī*.²⁹ The germ of this style could be traced to the Kushāna art of Mathura³⁰ and, to a certain extent, to the Western Indian sculptural tradition at Ajanta and Kanheri where an end of the *dhottī* with zig-zag pleats is seen hanging between the legs. This may gain support from the fact that Lalitāditya of Kashmir had passed through Western India during his conquests and quite possibly the art of his time had assimilated influences from different parts of India during his sojourn. It is possible to find traces of Lalitāditya's Chinese-oriented art in some of the bronzes from Akota and would relevantly justify the remarks of Dr. Goetz that they exhibit Mongoloid influences.³¹ The flowing garland, seen in our bronze, which develops into a cliché in Kashmir, too, is visible in these bronzes. In Kashmir proper, the standing Yaksha from Chankuṇa Stūpa or the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi from Pandrethan³² serve as proximate prototypes.

Yet another parallel is provided by the stone sculpture of Vishṇu³³ which has been assigned to the ninth century by Dr. Goetz, as also the Bodhisattva under T'ang Chinese influence from Chankuṇa's Stūpa.³⁴

The art of Kashmir underwent a complete orientation during the reign of Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa. It could be attributed, on the one hand, to his Tokharian Prime Minister Chankuṇa who, "faced with the almost helpless clumsiness of the local sculptures, was forced to bring and to summon artists from his own country, who though likewise provincial artisans, nevertheless were better trained than their Kashmiri colleagues".³⁵

On the other hand the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* refers to the carrying of Buddha's metal images from Magadhā to Kashmir.³⁶ That such images were held in

²⁷ Moti Chandra, 'Ancient Indian Ivories', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 6, Fig. 106. See also Figs. 70, 76.

²⁸ *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1904-05, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. c, Pl. XXIX, Fig. a.

²⁹ Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³⁰ A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, (Dover Edition), 1963, Fig. 102.

³¹ H. Goetz, 'Indian Civilization and Art,' *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*, Vol. VIII, pl. 1, 1950-52, p. 18.

³² H. Goetz, *Studies in the History and Art of Kashmir and the Indian Himalayas*, Wiesbaden, 1969, Pls. XVI & XVII.

³³ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³⁶ *Kaṭhaṇḍya Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, Ed. M. A. Stein, Varanasi, 1961, IV, 260.

high esteem is evident from Chankupa's request for such an image which he is supposed to have set up in his *vihāra*.³⁷

Another pertinent advocacy is of the possibility of Lalitāditya's importing a small colony of workers in the late Gupta tradition from Kanauj and Gauda.³⁸

The remarks of Dr. Goetz may be relevantly quoted in extenso. "The actual starting point of Mediaeval Kashmiri art was a degenerated provincial Gupta style which can be traced in the earliest stupas and sculptures at Pandrethan. It was still alive in the anaemic Buddha statues and reliefs with which Lalitāditya's Buddhist Minister Chankuna decorated his big stupa at Parihasapura (Paraspor), then Kashmir's capital. Chankuna, however, was a Tokharian from Eastern Turkistan who, before, had been a Chinese Government Officer and had been sent by the Tang Emperor, Hsuan-tsung, as an adviser to King Chandrapida (A.D. 713-725). It is, thus not surprising that the first outside influence enriching this provincial Gupta art was neither Indian nor Gandharian, but Chinese".³⁹

The earlier images such as the seated Buddha discussed above, appear more in consonance with the post Gupta idiom of Nalanda whereas the Avalokiteśvara image conforms more to Dr. Goetz's concept of the Kashmiri art of later period. Vestiges of this art can easily be traced in the Avalokiteśvara from Kashmir now in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, U.S.A.⁴⁰ assigned to c. A.D. 900, or the Padmapāṇi, now in the Los Angeles County Museum.⁴¹ In Bengal too the influences of Kashmiri art spread as a result of the political and cultural intercourse during Devapāla's reign. That the style of our Avalokiteśvara must have served as a prototype for bronzes and sculptures in Bihar-Bengal is evident from the image of Siddhaikavira⁴² in the Indian Museum, Calcutta and the famous bronze image of Avalokiteśvara from Kurkihar in the Patna Museum.⁴³

The workmanship of our Avalokiteśvara, however, remains more sensitive in comparison to the examples cited above.

It may, thus, be possible to conclude that the seated Buddha image could be assigned to the period of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. The Avalokiteśvara, on comparative evidence, could also be assigned to Kashmir and may not be far removed in date and may be ascribed to the ninth century.

³⁷ *Rājataranginī*, IV, 262.

³⁸ H. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴⁰ Douglas Barrett, 'Bronzes from North West India and Western Pakistan', *Lalit Kala*, No. 11, Fig. 25.

⁴¹ *Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection*, Boston, 1967, Fig. 38.

⁴² R. D. Banerjee, 'Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture', *A.S.I.A.R. (New Imp. Series)*, Vol. XLVII, 1933, Pl. XXXIII, Fig. (d).

⁴³ P. L. Gupta, 'Patna Museum, Catalogue of Antiquities', Patna, 1965, Pl. XXXII, Arch 9788.

II

While the present number of the Bulletin was in the press, the sensational theft and recovery of the bronze figure of Vaikuntha Chaturmūrti (Figs. 36 to 42) from the Hari Rāi temple in Chamba town (Fig. 35) took place, and it was considered relevant to add a note on this very beautiful but surprisingly unpublished image here.⁴⁴ It is surprising because the Hari Rāi temple is not an unknown temple. In fact Vogel refers to it:

"Near the Caugān Gate we find another Vishṇu temple known by the name of Hari Rāi. It is in possession of a copper-plate granted by Rājā Soma-varman, but issued in the first year of his successor, Āsaṭa. From this inscription it appears that this temple was erected in the second half of the 11th century by one Lakṣmaṇa-varman, who was probably a scion of the ruling house."⁴⁵

Dr. Goetz too while reviewing the antiquities in Chamba⁴⁶ acknowledges the existence of the temple but somehow fails to take notice of such an outstanding piece of metal sculpture.

It is a standing image of Vishṇu as the Vaikuntha Chaturmūrti accompanied by his personified cognizances Gadādevī and Chakrapuruṣa to his right and left respectively, while Prithvī (Fig. 42) is seen emerging from the earth to support him on her two outstretched hands.

The main figure of Vishṇu is 117 cm. in height while the side figures measure 42 and 39 cm. respectively. The rectangular pedestal with recessions and mouldings is 21.5 cm. in height and has a *śnāna-dronī* on the left. Two broken struts on the pedestal indicate that it once had an elaborate *prabhā-maṇḍala* unlike the usual Kashmiri practice of having just a halo around the head. The entire image appears to have been cast as a single piece. Casting of such images as *cast a four* in one piece seems to have been in vogue as pointed out by Dr. Goetz⁴⁷ on the evidence of the frame of a Vishṇu image found at Divsar and is 6½ ft. in height and weighing 360 lbs. The images and the pedestal of the Chamba sculpture seem to have been repaired at later dates from the metal patches seen all over.

The main deity (Fig. 36) with four faces and four hands stands in *dvibhāṅga* with legs drawn apart, the right leg supporting the balance of the body.

⁴⁴ The image was stolen from the temple on 6-5-1971 and was quite dramatically traced in Bombay on 21-6-1971.

⁴⁵ J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, Calcutta, 1911, p. 10.

⁴⁶ H. Goetz, "The Antiquities of Chamba State: An Art Historical Outline", *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, New Series, Vol. I, pt. 1-2, 1953, p. 76.

⁴⁷ H. Goetz, *Studies in the History and Art of Kashmir and the Indian Himalaya*, Wiesbaden, 1969, p. 79.

The centre face is that of the benign Vāsudeva; the face on his right represents the lion-incarnation of Vishṇu-Nṛsimha; the left face is that of Varāha the boar-incarnation of Vishṇu; on the back is represented the *rauda* or fierce aspect, that of Kapila (Fig. 38). The eyes of the deity are inlaid in silver and the lips in copper. But for the prominently displayed fangs, the face of Kapila displays an unusually pleasing countenance. Over his head is neatly arranged the *jaṭābhāra* tied with a flower garland and a single flower placed at the top.⁴⁸ This seemingly uncommon feature, the *jaṭābhāra*, is an iconographic necessity of Vaikunṭha Chaturmūrti for Kapila is supposed to be represented with matted hair.⁴⁹ The hair-locks which fall gently on his shoulders have been schematically treated. Of the five points of the crown three are over the main face and one each over the Nṛsimha and Varāha face. It is tied at the back in a trefoil knot. A *tilaka* mark adorns his forehead, a lozenge shaped *śrīvāta* his chest and his neck has three folds.⁵⁰ He wears a necklace with a large medalion in the centre. His other ornaments comprise of armlets, bracelets, beaded anklets, and a beaded *yajñopavīta*. His two faces, those of Vāsudeva and Kapila, wear *ratna-kunḍalas*. The ankle long *vanamālā* is dotted by uniformly designed jasmine flowers. The black outline around the eyes is evidently a phenomenon of worship, as the image is still in worship.

In his front right and left hands he holds a *padma* (lotus) and *śaṅkha* (conch) respectively. His other two hands are delicately placed on his personified cognizances. His *dhoti*, which covers the right leg upto the ankle and leaves the left bare below the thigh, is fastened at the waist by a bejewelled waist-band. He wears a decorated *paryastaka* around the thighs.

Both his personified cognizances stand with their legs drawn apart and with their bodies bent outward at the waist while their faces are turned to admire the god, a phenomenon supported by iconographical texts.

The haloed Gadādevī to his right (Fig. 40) holds an ornamental *chāmara* in her right hand while with her left hand she delicately touches her left earring. A tunic covers her body upto the waist with a characteristic crescent-shaped opening above the abdomen seen in Kashmiri and Western Himalayan sculptures. The folds of a scarf appear to have been gathered on her left arm. Her lower garment is indicated by incised lines as closely fitting the limbs and spreads like a skirt. The garment is secured at the waist by a belt made of pearl-strands. She wears a diadem over her head; her hair is tied in a chignon and decorated with ornaments; a *śaṅkha* is seen protruding behind her

⁴⁸ "शिरः पद्मलपिचारस्य कर्तव्यः चाकर्णिकः" *Vishṇudharmottara* III 85.5. In the present sculpture it also serves to cover the iron-bar which can be clearly seen in the back view of the image (fig. 38). Presumably such rods were inserted in the wax model to hold them erect; such a rod is even seen in the Avatāra figure (fig. 32).

⁴⁹ कर्तव्यः कर्णिके देवो जटामण्डलमण्डितः; Hemadri in चतुर्भुजचिन्तामणि, as quoted by B.C. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, Pt. I, Calcutta, 1921, p. 8.

⁵⁰ कर्णिकेन शुभरेखेन कर्णिकुत्पन्नेन राज्ञा, *Vishṇudharmottara*, part III, 85.3.

right ear. Her two earrings are of a different variety. She wears large headed necklace and an *urahiṣṭra* with a medallion touching the breasts. She also wears armlets; broad set of bangles, anklets and a large pearl necklace falling over the thighs. Like the main deity she also wears a long *vanamālā*.

Chiakrapurusha, on his left (Fig. 41), is also haloed but unlike Gadādevī's plain halo his has a discus-shaped pattern in keeping with the nature of the cognizance. His is a dwarfish pot-bellied figure, holding a fly-whisk in his right hand while the left is placed on the thigh. In harmony with the leftward bend of his head, his curled hair fall gracefully over his left shoulder and is reminiscent of a style that originated in the Gupta period. Yet another feature which this sculpture shares with the Gupta tradition is the thick arched band tied across the chest.³¹ His upper body is bare except for prominent necklaces and garland. His *dhōṭī* is marked by schematic pattern with a *pariyastaka* worn across the thighs. He wears big and bold earrings and *śaṅkhaputras* over the ears, armlets, bracelets and anklets.

The Pāñcharātra system under which the whole Vyūha theory evolves conceives Vāsudeva Viṣṇu in his four primary aspects viz. Vāsudeva, Saṃkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Combined with twenty other secondary ones they add up to twentyfour forms in all. The process of emanation which begins when one of the first group pairs with another of the second group gives rise to a chain as it were, consisting of several emanations and "thus, the favourite image of the process has with the Pāñcharātrins, become that of one flame, proceeding from another flame (any creation upto the formation of the Brahmāṇḍa, is imagined as taking place this way)".³² To the Pāñcharātrins the Vyūha is denoted by the coming into being of the original four whom they consider as Chaturvyūhas. Dr. Banerjee rightly mentions, "one of the essential tenets of the Pāñcharātra system, read in connection with the Viṣṇudharmottara passages, helps to explain the character of the mediaeval Viṣṇu images from Kashmir."³³

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* carries a pertinent description of the Vaikunṭha form of Viṣṇu. It says:³⁴

"Thus has been described to you (the process of) making the image of the four-formed God. (He) called Vaikunṭha should be made having one form only.

³¹ *Ajanta Murals* ed. A. Ghosh, Delhi, 1967. See the figure of the Yakṣa-plate F, for comparison.

³² J. N. Banerjee, "Mediaeval Viṣṇu images from Kashmir and some Viṣṇudharmottara Passages". *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, IVth session, Lahore, 1940, pp. 61-64.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³⁴ *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, Third Khanda, ed. Priyabala Shah, G.O.S. Baroda, 1958. *Ādhyaṭm* 85; for English translation see Stella Kramrisch, *The Viṣṇudharmottara* (Pt. III), Calcutta, 1928, pp. 113-114.

He, the Lord should be made with four faces and (has been) described before. The four-fold face being shown he becomes the four-formed (deity).

The eastern should be placid which all know to be the chief. The southern one, the face of knowledge, should be made resembling a lion-face.

That western face which is terrible is called wealth (*aistarya*)⁴⁴.

In the same chapter of the *Vishṇudharmottara* have been mentioned other iconographic requirements of the image of Vāsudeva, and his attendant figures⁴⁵ which may be relevantly quoted here.

"He is slim, with long arms and joined fists and has fingers with copper (coloured) nails. Between his legs the earth should be shown with the appearance of a woman, tawny like the emblec myrobalan and with the middle beautified by the wavy *trivālī* (i.e. the three folds above the navel of a woman regarded as a mark of beauty). The god Janārdana should have his feet placed a *tāla* apart, with the right slightly stretched and with the feet placed on the hands of that (earth-goddess). The earth should be made with glances (as if) surprised at the sight of the god and the god should be rendered with his waist-cloth extending upto the knee.

The *vanamālā* (flower garland) should extend to the knees of the god and the sacred thread should extend to the navel.

(One) should put into the right hand of the god a full-blown lotus and the conch should be placed in the left-hand with the shape of a conch,

On the right should be the goddess Gadā, in the shape of a woman with a thin middle, with beautiful eyes, adorned with all ornaments and lovely.

The goddess should carry a *chāmara* looking at the lord of the god of gods. The right hand of the god should be placed on her head.

Placed on the left side should be *chakra* with a big belly, furnished with all ornaments, with eyes wide open (as) in dancing. He should carry a *chāmara* and should be engaged at looking at the god. The left hand of the god should be placed on the head of that (*Chakra*).⁴⁶

The influence exercised by the *Vishṇudharmottara* in the making of such Kashmiri images is apparent. The antiquity of this tradition, however, is difficult to trace.

⁴⁴ *Vishṇudharmottara*, III ch. 85, verses 2 to 14.

⁴⁵ Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.* pp. 110-111.

In the Gupta period, when this concept is supposed to have originated in plastic representations, the fourth face, that of Kapila, in Vaikuntha images is absent. This may be, perhaps, due to the fact that the sculptural relief did not provide space for the representation of the fourth face. Even the two animal faces do not suggest any organic harmony with the central face. This is well demonstrated by the images assignable to this period, of which two in the Mathura Museum⁵⁷ and one in the Boston Museum⁵⁸ could be quoted as instances.

The Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin has a bronze image of Vaikuntha which, presumably, is the earliest example from Kashmir and datable to about the seventh century.⁵⁹ It has a remarkable affinity to the Gupta sculpture from Boston in the representation of the two animal faces. It is remarkable, however, because even though carved in the round it does not represent the face of Kapila at the back, yet it does have the *Āyudhapurusha* and also Prithvī.

Vaishnavism became predominant religion in Kashmir in the time of Lalitāditya when Vaikuntha was being worshipped. This is even reflected in the sculptures of the period though only three faces of Vaikuntha have been represented. The movement gained momentum once again during the period of Avantivarman (c. 855-883 A.D.) whose temple of Avantisvāmī is dedicated to Vishṇu. The *Rājatarāṅgī* alludes to the installation of Vaikuntha images which are mentioned as Chaturāiman.⁶⁰ It is by this time that we are confronted with the Vaikuntha images having four faces both in stone and metal. One such beautiful metal image is now in the Los Angeles County Museum.⁶¹

The Chamba Vaikuntha image, as observed above, has been cast in the Kashmiri tradition still retaining influences of the Gupta idiom. The round face with double chin, the small mouth with thicker lower lip, the schematic curls, both of the main figure as well as the Chakrapurusha are still reminiscent of the purity of modelling of traditional Gupta images. It shows a marked variation from the style of the Western Himalaya which is apparent in the Sāho image.⁶²

In the treatment of modelling too it contrast with the slim and elongated modelling of Meruvarman's image of Lakshañādevī of an earlier period or

⁵⁷ D. B. Diskalkar, 'Some Brahmanical Sculptures in the Mathura Museum', *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. V, Jan. 1932, Part I, p. 25, pl. 5. The other image is Acc. No. 2525 of the Mathura Museum.

⁵⁸ A. Coomaraswamy, 'Indian Stone Sculpture', *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, Boston, Vol. XVIII, Dec. 1919, No. 104, pp. 60.

⁵⁹ Herbert Hartel, *Indische Skulpturen I*, Berlin, 1960, Figs. 42, 43.

⁶⁰ *Rājatarāṅgī*, IV 508, V 25, Ed. St.

⁶¹ *The Arts of India and Nepal: The Neil and Alice Heeramanek Collection*, Boston, 1966, p. 62, S. No. 51.

⁶² J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, Calcutta, 1911, pl. XXXIX A.

Yugākaravarman's Gauri-Śaṅkara images of a later period. On the other hand it draws a close parallel with the image from Avantisvāmī temple,⁶³ or even the bronze image in the Los Angeles Museum. Yet another point for comparison is the *uraḥ-sūtra* of Gadādevī. Unlike those long ones done in the Pratihāra tradition as seen in the Lakṣhaṇā, the Śaktidevī or the Gaurī images, that of Gadādevī is a short one with a pendant touching her breasts. We find an identical pattern in the figures from the Avantisvāmī temple.

We have at the beginning quoted Vogel's reference to the date of the Hari Rāi temple on the evidence of the Chamba copper-plate inscription of Somavarman and Āsaṭa in the eleventh century. He, however, disagrees with this dating and considers the probability that the temple was built shortly before the grant was made. While doing so he also rejects a local tradition that the temple existed even before the foundation of Chamba by Sāhilla.⁶⁴

Traditions and practices will, therefore, have to be carefully weighed in the context of dating of our image. To accept the date of Hari Rāi temple as that of our image may lead to the confusion of styles.

Evidence for the existence of the practice of an earlier image being re-enshrined at a later date is provided by the image of Narasimha at Brahmar. As Dr. Goetz convincingly suggests,⁶⁵ this image though enshrined by queen Tribhuvanarekhā in the tenth century must actually belong to Ājyavarman's period (c. seventh-eighth century). He mentions, "though the erection of the Narasimha temple at Brahmar had been a reflection of this Vaiṣṇava revival in Chamba, queen Tribhuvanarekhā would surely not have selected such an obsolete avatara, if Ājyavarman's idol had not been already in existence and in need of a decent shrine."⁶⁶ To a large extent it applies even to the cult of Vaiṣṇava which had been relegated to the background by the eleventh century even in Kashmir. The 'tradition' which Vogel refers to, suggesting that the Hari Rāi temple was built before Sāhillavarman's time should thus mean to imply the image and not the temple. Such a majestic image as this could never have been cast if the cult had not been at its highest and certainly not without royal patronage. And this was possible only when Avantivarman was ruling in Kashmir.

⁶³ D. R. Sahni, 'Excavations at Avantipur', *A.R.A.S.I.*, 1913-14, p. 40.

⁶⁴ J. Ph. Vogel: *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 191.

⁶⁵ H. Goetz, *Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, Leiden, 1955, p. 85.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

A NOTE ON FIVE INDIAN METAL SCULPTURES IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

B. V. Shetti

The Prince of Wales Museum's collection of metal sculptures has been recently enriched by the addition of five important bronze images, three of which were gifted to the Museum and two were acquired by purchase. Of these one represents the Gurjara-Pratihāra school, three represent the Pāla school while one—an image of Buddha—appears to belong to the Nāgapattinam hoard of Buddhist images.

A notable feature of the Gurjara-Pratihāra period is the sudden decline of Buddhism and the emergence of Hinduism. Vaishṇavism was very popular, patronised by kings and common people alike. Epigraphic and archaeological evidence suggest that Viṣṇu was adored in different forms. Metal sculptures of the Gurjara-Pratihāra school are rather rare. Therefore, the gift of a Viṣṇu image of this school (Fig. 48) is an important addition to the Museum's collection. Iconographically also this image in brass is somewhat interesting. Usually, in Northern and Eastern India, we come across Viṣṇu images flanked by Lakṣmī on the proper right and Sarasvatī on the proper left, but here Sarasvatī's place is taken by a male *chauri*-bearer.

The origin and growth of the Pāla Empire (c. 750—1142 A.D.) in Bengal and Bihar gave a great impetus to art in those regions and finally led to the formation of a new school. The rise of this school must have taken place soon after the formation of the first empire of the Pālas, in the ninth century A.D. The decline of the political power of the Pālas had its effects on the art production of the eastern provinces of Northern India. The revival of the power of the Pālas, under Mahipāla I (988-1038 A.D.) led to the revival of art activity in Bengal and Bihar. The final decline of the Pāla power in the last quarter of the eleventh century led to the general decline of artistic activity in the eastern provinces. The conquest of Bengal and Bihar by Bakhtiyār Khaljī in 1199 A.D. gave a death blow to Eastern Indian art.

The images produced in the eighth and ninth centuries are mostly Buddhist though we also find some Brahmanical images. In the tenth century there is a steady increase of Brahmanical sculptures and by the eleventh and twelfth centuries there is abundance of Viṣṇu images. During this period images of various goddesses are also found, while Śaivite and Jaina images are less frequently met with.

The early sculptures of the Pāla period show influences of the post-Gupta art. The Pāla art of the eighth-ninth century as seen at Nalanda, Bodhi Gaya and other sites in the region, therefore, reflects the tendency of fleshy roundness and on the whole a relative softness. The sculptures also lack the opulent ornamentation which becomes a noteworthy characteristic of the art of the later period in Bihar and Bengal. By the eleventh-twelfth century, therefore, we witness a gradual decadence of art, which, while displaying tendency for minute details, becomes stiff and formal and devoid of the grace of the early period.

There is enough evidence to indicate that the progress of the plastic art followed the same tradition both in stone and metal. The Pāla art exercised a lasting influence on the art of Nepal, Burma, Ceylon and Java. Many images were dedicated to gods of the Buddhist pantheon under the rule of the Pālas and Senas. We also come across names of donors in inscribed images (Fig. 47). Such dedications were made to acquire religious merit.

While the Buddhist sculptures from Eastern India between the eighth and eleventh centuries show the development of Buddhism and its art, the finding of an entire hoard of over three hundred and fifty Buddhist bronzes at Nāgapattinam has given a new direction to the Buddhistic studies in South India. It has also established the continuity of Buddhism in South India as late as the fifteenth century.

Not that Buddhism was new to South India. In fact two great Buddhist centres, at Amaravati on the banks of the Krishna and at Nagarjunikonda flourished in Andhra Pradesh. With the advent of Sankara both Jainism and Buddhism suffered heavy set back in that region. Yet in later mediaeval period Jainism continued to hold sway as is evident from the many Jain *bastis*, the same could not be said about Buddhism. It is this that underlines the importance of the Nāgapattinam hoard of Buddhist bronzes.

Nāgapattinam had been one of the flourishing ports on the eastern coast and evidently the main port of exit for the Buddhist monks going over to the Malay Peninsula. It may, therefore, not be surprising if a colony of Malay Buddhists existed there.¹ This is confirmed by the fact that the Buddhist monuments at Nāgapattinam were erected from the subsidies given by the Śailendra kings of Sumatra. One of the Śailendra kings, Cudāmanivarman is said to have begun a *vihāra* at Nāgapattinam, which was completed by his son Sri Māravijayottunggavarman in the eleventh century.² The temples received endowments from the Choja rulers too.

¹ T. N. Ramachandran, "The Nāgapattinam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum", *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, N. S. Vol. VII, No. 1, 1954, p. 13.

² *Ibid.* pp. 13-14.

This peculiar dual influence at Nāgapattinam has well reflected in the entire range of its art of metal sculpture. While the presence of the Chola influence is evident in the figures of Avalokiteśvara and other figures, in the case of Buddha images with their flame-like *ushnisha* and the drapery one would agree with Coomaraswamy that it is a peculiarity of Farther Indian origin.³

1. A panel with Ganeśa, Śākambhari, Ambikā and Bhairava (66.2)
Copper. Pāla school, East Bengal, Late 10th century A.D. 12.1 x 8.5 cm.
(Fig. 43).

The first figure from the left is that of two-armed Ganeśa seated in *lalitāsana* holding sweets in his left hand; the rat, his vehicle, is depicted below his right foot. The second figure is that of the four-armed goddess Śākambhari seated in *lalitāsana*; each upper hand holds a sheaf of corn; a child is seated on her lap; a bird is shown below the right foot. She is followed by the four-armed Ambikā riding the lion; she holds in her upper hands a sword and a shield; the lower left hand holds a *pāśa*. The last figure is that of the two-armed Bhairava riding his dog; he holds a *khaṭvāṅga* in his right hand and a *kapāla* in his left. A kneeling worshipper is at the right side corner of the pedestal. Indistinct traces of an inscription at the back.

The figures are in folk style and the faces are slightly rubbed out. The panel has a uniform cupric red patina.

The above *mātrikā* panel closely compares with the *mātrikā* panel (Fig. 44) of the Pāla school in the Boman Behram Collection. In the former panel there are four figures whereas in the latter there are five figures. In both the panels the first figure on the left is that of Ganeśa. There is close resemblance in the treatment of facial features, haloes, and the pedestals of both the panels.

In the *mātrikā* panels in stone usually there are nine or ten figures depending upon whether it is a *saptamātrikā* or an *ashṭamātrikā* panel. But in metal images we often come across *mātrikā* panels with four or five figures. Normally, in stone *mātrikā* panels Ganeśa is at the end whereas in Eastern Indian bronzes Ganeśa is often represented first followed by the *mātrikās*.

In Fig. 43, the second figure of the four-armed seated goddess is Śākambhari holding a sheaf of corn in her upper hands. Among the Buddhist goddesses Vasudhārā holds a sheaf of corn. As the representation of Śākambhari is rare in sculptures it is necessary to discuss the iconography of the goddess at some length.

Śākambhari means "herb nourishing" or "herb bearing".⁴ The role of

³ A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 200.

⁴ *Mārkandeya Purāṇa*, Tr. by F. E. Pargiter, Delhi, 1969, p. 518.

the Vedic corn-goddess *Idā* is taken up by the Purāṇic *Śākambharī* or *Anna-pūrṇā*.⁵ In the Purāṇas, *Durgā* is styled as *Nāgeśvarī*, *Gonaśābharanā* or *Bhujāṅga-veshṭita-śarīrā* as also *Śākambharī* or *Annappūrṇā*.⁶

In the *Devī-Māhātmya*⁷ the following passage occurs :

ततोऽहमलिलं लोकात्मदेहममुद्भूयैः ।
भरिष्यामि सुराः शार्करावृष्टैः प्राणधारकैः ॥
शकम्भरीति विख्याति तदा यस्याभ्यहं भुवि ।
तत्रैव च विधिष्यामि दुर्गमाख्यं महागुरम् ॥

"O ye gods, I shall support (nourish) the whole world with the life sustaining vegetables, which shall grow out of my own body, during a period of heavy rain. I shall gain fame on the earth then as 'Śākambharī' (Herb-bearing), or (Herb-nourishing) and in that very period I shall slay the great Asura named *Durgama*". A similar reference is also found in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*.⁸

There is a *tīrtha* named after the goddess *Śākambharī*,⁹ so named because *Durgā* lived there on *Śāka* or vegetables produced and entertained her guests with a vegetarian fare.

The association of vegetation with *Śākambharī* is still emphasised in the *Navapatrikā* ceremony of the autumnal *Durgā* worship in Bengal, which shows that the *Devī* was in a way the personification of the vegetation spirit. She is the mother *par-excellence* sustaining her children, the men and animals of the universe with food produced from her body.¹⁰

In the *Bata Abakāsha* by the poet-philosopher *Balarāma Dāsa* (16th century A.D.) mention is made of seventy-six mother goddesses like *Śākambharī*, *Durgesvarī*, *Kālī* etc.¹¹

In Rajasthan, *Śakti* is worshipped in the forms of *Kālī*, *Durgā*, *Chāmuṇḍā*, *Aṣṭabhuḍā* and *Ambā*. Besides these five forms, *Śakti* is worshipped under local names, viz. *Karṇmātā*, *Mokalmātā*, *Śākambharī*, *Āśāpurīdevī* etc.¹²

At Sambhar, poet *Jayānaka*, author of *Prithvirāja-vijayamahākāvya*, describes

⁵ S. K. Dikshī, *The Mother Goddess*, Delhi, p. 211.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁷ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Canto. XCI, 43-44; T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, Madras, 1914, pp. 333-334.

⁸ *Vāmana Purāṇa*, 30.69.

⁹ E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Delhi, 1968, pp. 11-12.

¹⁰ J. N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 490; S. Bhattacharjī, *The Indian Theogony*, Cambridge, 1970, p. 161.

¹¹ *The Śakti Cult and Tāntā*, Ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1967, p. 85.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 92-93.

the worship of Śākambharī and Āśāpūrīdevī by the Chauhāns.¹³

At the Gaṇagaur festival Gaurī's image is taken to the lake at Udaipur and ceremonially bathed, possibly in order to free her from the preceding year's pollution, or as a rain charm. She is also worshipped as Annapūrṇā, 'she who is possessed of food', and her mimic marriage to Śiva is performed. In other forms she is worshipped as Śākambharī.¹⁴

Every Rajput adores Āśāpūrṇā, 'the fulfiller of desire'; or as Śākambharī Devī (goddess protectress), she is invoked previous to any undertaking.¹⁵

The goddess Śākambharī is held in high esteem by the Rajputs. Mānika Rāi Chauhan named a salt lake after his patron goddess Śākambharī, whose statue still exists on a small island in the lake, now corrupted to Sambhar.¹⁶

An inscription on the pillar at Firoz Shāh's palace at Delhi, belonging to the Chauhans family, in which the word Śākambharī occurs, gave rise to many ingenious conjectures by Sir William Jones, Mr. Cole Brooke and Colonel Willford.¹⁷

2. Vṛishābhārūḍha Śiva (66.1).

Copper. Pāla school, East Bengal, 11th century A.D. Ht. 15.6 cm. (Fig. 45).

The four-armed Śiva is seated in *lalitāsana* on the couchant Nandī facing left and resting on a double lotus pedestal on a *bhādrapīṭha*; the upper right hand holds a lotus flower and the upper left a *kapāla*; the lower right hand is in *varadamudrā* and the lower left in *abhayamudrā*; wears *jaṭāmukuta*, necklaces, armbands and bracelets; the usual flamboyant halo is slightly bent. The face is slightly worn out.

When Śiva is represented leaning against his *vāhana* Nandī or bull he is described as Vṛishabhavāhana Śiva. When Śiva is represented as seated on his *vāhana* Nandī he is described as Vṛishabhārūḍha Śiva as in Figs. 45-46. The three-faced and four-armed Śiva seated on his mount Nandī in the *sukhāsana* pose, in an intaglio in the Pearce Collection, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is one of the earliest *āsana* type image of this god.

Our image favourably compares with the stone image of Vṛishabhārūḍha Śiva of Eastern Gaṅga school of Konarak of thirteenth century A.D. (Fig. 46). Unfortunately, all the four hands of the latter figure are broken. The positions

¹³ *The Śakti Cult and Tāntrā*, Op. Cit., p. 93, fn. 14.

¹⁴ J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, London, 1920, p. 665.

¹⁵ J. Tod, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 76.

¹⁶ J. Tod, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 1449.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1449, Fu. 1.

of the legs in both the figures are the same, i.e., the right leg hanging down and the left leg folded. The Nandī in the metal image is couchant whereas in the stone image the Nandī is standing.

3. Trivikrama form of Vishṇu (68.1).

Bronze. Pāla school, Eastern India. Late 11th century A.D. Ht. 33 cm. Gift in memory of the late Shrimati Amaravati Gupta. (Fig. 47).

The four armed Trivikrama stands in *samapadasthānaka* pose on a circular lotus pedestal resting on *bhadrapiṭha*. He is holding a *gadā* in the upper right hand, *chakra* in the upper left hand and *śankha* in the lower left hand. The lower right hand is in *varadamudrā*. He wears three pointed *kirita*, *karna-kundalas*, armlets, bracelets, necklaces, *yajñopavita*, *kāśisūtra* and *ūru-dīma*. The decorative *vanamālā* hangs down from the shoulders to his knees.

Śrīdevī standing with a slight flexion on a circular pedestal on his right holds a *chaurī* in her right hand and a lotus flower in her left hand. Sarasvatī also standing with a slight flexion on a circular pedestal on his left holds a *vinā* in her hands. At the back of Vishṇu's head is a heart-shaped halo. The *prabhā* has the usual flamboyant border surmounted with a circular *chhatra* at the top.

The inscription on the reverse reads :

संघपालिकस्य दे(य) धर्माः

4. Trivikrama form of Vishṇu (68.2).

Brass. Gurjara-Pratihāra, Uttar Pradesh. 9th century A.D. Ht. 27.9 cm. Gift in memory of the late Shrimati Amaravati Gupta. (Fig. 48).

The four-armed Trivikrama is standing in *samapadasthānaka* pose on a circular lotus pedestal resting on a tiered pedestal. He is holding *gadā* in the upper right hand, *chakra* in the upper left hand, *padma* in the lower right hand and *śankha* in the lower left hand. He wears a *kirita*, diamond-shaped *karna-kundalas*, armlets, bracelets, anklets, a necklace and *dhōtī*. The *vanamālā* hanging down from his shoulder reaches below his knees.

Trivikrama is flanked by a standing female *chaurī*-bearer on his right and a male *chaurī*-bearer on his left. The back-rest consists of plain upright pillars supporting a plain architrave. The halo at the back of his head is decorated with lotus petals. The pedestal has a channel on the proper left to drain away water poured at the time of the *abhiṣheka*.

The faces of all the three figures are rubbed out suggesting that the idol was in worship for a long period.

In several early specimens of the four-armed standing figures of Vishṇu in Pāla art, his two consorts, Śrī and Puṣṭī (Sarasvatī) or Śrī and Bhūdevī are not found. The consorts are seen only in later images. According to *Hayasirsha pāñcharātra*¹⁸ Śrī and Puṣṭī should be made to stand (on either side) with a lotus flower and *vinā* (lute) in their respective hands and they should be of the height of the thigh (of the central figure) and slightly bent. The application of this norm is very clear in the Vishṇu image.

According to the placement of Vishṇu's emblems in his four hands, *śankha* or conch, *chakra* or disc, *gadā* or mace, and *padma* or lotus, the *chaturvīṃśati* or twenty-four forms of Vishṇu are determined. In the *Mahābhārata* though all the twenty-four forms are mentioned the emblems are not described. About the different forms of Vishṇu there are differences in the later texts and there is no way of ascertaining their relative correctness. B.B. Bidyabinod rightly observed that 'a decisive identification is not always possible'.¹⁹

The earliest description of these *chaturvīṃśati* forms appears in the *Agni purāṇa*. The *Rūpamaṇḍana* and the *Aparājita-prīchchhā* lists are the same as that of the *Agni purāṇa* and hence that list should be considered as more reliable than the lists of other texts.²⁰ Normally, these images are carved in *sambhāṅga* but a few images in *dvibhāṅga* postures have also come to light.

The most common type is the Trivikrama form (see Figs. and 47-48). The preponderance of the Trivikrama form in such images may show indirectly the influence of the Vedic concept in the composite cult-picture, the Āditya-Vishṇu, one of whose common epithets is Trivikrama. In this form Vishṇu holds *gadā* in the upper right hand and *padma* in the lower, while in the upper left hand holds the *chakra* and the lower one *śankha*. R. D. Banerji has described this form as Vāsudeva and Hemādri describes this form as Upendra in *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi*. But most of the other texts are in agreement in describing this form of Vishṇu as Trivikrama. Sometimes instead of full blown lotus flower only the lotus seed is represented in Vishṇu's hand. (Fig. 47).

The Pāla Vishṇu (Fig. 47) in the Prince of Wales Museum closely compares with the inscribed stone sculpture of Vishṇu discovered by Nalinikant Bhattasali at Keoār²¹ in the Dacca District belonging to the third period of activity of the Eastern school. The modelling of the body, facial features and the order of placing the emblems in the four hands are very similar in both the images. In Fig. 47, though the modelling is delicate and graceful to some extent, the hieratic stiffness is apparent.

¹⁸ See J. N. Banerjia, 'Hindu Iconography-I, Vishṇu', *J.I.S.O.A.* Vol. XIII, 1945, pp. 55-129, for detailed discussion.

¹⁹ B. B. Bidyabinod, 'Varieties of the Vishṇu Images,' *Memoirs of the A.S.I.* No. 2, Calcutta, 1920.

²⁰ J. N. Banerjia, *Op. Cit.*

²¹ N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, p. 85, Pl. XXX.

5. Buddha

Bronze. Probably Nāgapattinam.

c. 11th century A.D. Ht. with pedestal 60.7 cm., without pedestal 47.3 cm. Gift in memory of the late Smt. Amaravati Gupta. (Fig. 49).

The bronze represents Buddha standing erect on a circular lotus pedestal. The face is oval with sharp features; the half open eyes are downcast in meditation. The ear lobes are long and perforated and the head is covered by conventionalised seven rows of curls surmounted by the flame like *ushnisha*. The *śrṅgā* is hook-shaped and has been found on other bronzes from Nāgapattinam.²² His right hand is in *abhaya* and the left in *kaṭaka*. His palm marks compare with No. 65 of Shri Ramachandran's chart.²³ He wears an *antariya* and a *saṃghāṭī* which is thrown over his left shoulder leaving the right shoulder and the chest bare. One end of the *saṃghāṭī* while passing over the left hand is gathered in a thick fold over the left shoulder. The pedestal seems to be of an uncommon type.

It may be mentioned here that even though a large number of bronzes were discovered at Nāgapattinam hardly fifteen seem to be of such big size. It may suggest that in common with the tradition in South India these too were intended as *utsava-bherās*.

Even though the modelling of our image is comparable to images of the early period, yet the presence of conventionalised curls, *śrṅgā* and palm-mark suggest a slightly later date, preferably the eleventh century.

²² T. N. Ramachandran, *Op. cit.* Pl. XXX (II).

²³ *Ibid.* Pl. XXX (65).

IDENTIFICATION OF KANHERI SCULPTURE IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

B. V. Shetti

There are two pieces of a stone-sculpture from Kanheri (Figs. 50, 51) on display in the sculpture gallery of the Museum. Mr. E. W. West had donated this sculpture (in two pieces), to the then Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society in 1859-60¹. Later on the Asiatic Society gave it to this Museum on long term loan along with other exhibits. These slabs are in traprock and measure $66 \times 35.5 \times 16.6$ cm. and $63 \times 35.5 \times 19$ cm. respectively.

So far we were neither aware about the exact find-spot of these sculptured slabs nor their correct identification. Recently when we visited the cemetery site at the south-western brow of Kanheri cave-hill we noticed a sixteen-sided stone *stūpa* amidst the ruins of several other brick *stūpas*. It seems that this gallery has been the general necropolis of the inhabitants of the caves. On seeing the sculptured friezes carved in traprock, we at once realised that the Kanheri sculpture housed in the Museum also belonged to this *stūpa*.

Subsequently while going through an article on Kanheri by E. W. West, published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*,² I saw the line drawing (Fig. 52) of the sculpture under discussion. From this drawing it was clear that the Kanheri slabs belonged to the stone *stūpa* at the cemetery site. We also realised the exact positions of the two slabs and together they depicted a particular scene.

Mr. West had described these slabs and conjectured that the scene might represent a human sacrifice. He did not rule out the possibilities of other identifications. He had also mentioned that the blank space on the second slab (Fig. 51) was covered with faint traces of an inscription. At present no such traces are left. Mr. West had illustrated a number of other carved slabs recovered from the cemetery site. Out of these only one slab with elephant riders³ is in our reserve collection but the whereabouts of the other slabs are not known. From the few slabs still *in situ* it is obvious that all these sculptures

¹ *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, O.S., Vol. VI, Jan. 1862, Appendix, p. XXIX.

² E. W. West, "Descriptions of some of the Kanheri Taper", *JBBRAS*, O.S., Vol. VI, Jan. 1862, pp. 116-120, pl. II, figs. 8-9.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. III, fig. 14.

have been once covered with a thin coat of white plaster. Over this plaster the features of the figures were painted in red lines.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch had identified the scene on the first slab as "The tonsure of Śākyamuni".⁴ In describing the frieze she says "The sage of the royal house of the Śākyaas, having left the palace on his way to becoming the Buddha, is shown seated beneath a tree. Having cast off all worldly ties he is about to cut his hair. His horse Kanthaka and groom worshipfully take leave of him." While describing the scene Dr. Kramrisch had not taken into account the second slab with the result that her identification of the scene was not correct. I am of the opinion that the whole scene on both the slabs depicts Mahā-Sutasoma-Jātaka (No. 537)⁵: The only other Jātaka story depicted at Kanheri is that of Dīpaṅkarara Jātaka in Cave 67. The story of Mahā-Sutasoma Jātaka in brief is as follow:

The king Brahmadatta, who had been a *yakkha* in his former birth, develops a taste for human flesh and arranges to murder his own subjects for meeting his daily food supply. When this is detected, he refuses to change his habit of cannibalism and ultimately forced to abdicate his kingdom. He now resides in a forest and kills all traders who pass that way. After sometime he captures a king named Sutasoma, who had been his former friend and teacher, but temporarily releases him on the condition that he should return after fulfilling his promise made to a Brahmin. The king returns as promised and the man-eater is so much pleased with his honesty that he offers to grant him any four boons that he may ask of him. When asked to refrain from cannibalism he reluctantly agrees and is eventually restored to his former kingdom.

On the right end of the second slab is an incomplete panel showing two human figures kneeling and behind them stands another figure with folded hands. A tree is depicted in the background. As this scene is incomplete it is not possible to identify the same.

In the centre (Fig. 52) the upper part of the scene shows a female figure holding the hands and a male figure holding the legs of a third person and carrying him, who is apparently killed by Brahmadatta in order to get some flesh. The lower part of the same scene shows seated Brahmadatta wearing an elaborate head-dress in the shape of a sun-flower, holding two pieces of flesh in his right hand. His left hand is raised to indicate that he does not want any more flesh. The cook stands on his left holding a dagger in his right hand and some flesh in his left hand. On his right stands a caparisoned horse facing left which belongs to his master.

At the left end Brahmadatta is seated in *lalitāsana* on a raised platform

⁴ Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, London, 1954, p. 201, fig. 36.

⁵ *The Jātaka*, ed. by E. B. Cowell, Vol. V, London, 1957, pp. 246-279.

under a banyan tree holding a dagger in his right hand and his left hand is resting on his lap. His cook who wears a wig-like headdress is kneeling on his master's left with folded hands.

The Jātaka story mentions that before his departure the king asked for a favour to take with him a sword and a cook.

The king taking his cook set out from the city and entered a forest and made his dwelling at the foot of a banyan tree. One day he did not find any man in the forest. The cook said, "Where is the meat sire?" "Oh! I will find some meat," he said. The frightened cook made a fire and put the pot on the brazier. Then the man-eater killed him with a stroke of his sword and cooked and ate his flesh.⁶ The scene at the left end of the first slab illustrates this very scene, showing Brahmādatta with a dagger in his hand seated under the tree, about to kill his cook.

Dr. Kramrisch had dated the Kanheri slab to second century A.D. in the first edition of her book *Art of India*, but she has now changed the date to sixth century A.D. in the third edition of the same book.⁷

The depiction of the horse in the Kanheri sculpture is very similar to the horse represented in the wall-paintings of the fifth century at Ajanta Cave II, illustrating the Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka.⁸ The treatment of the hair of Brahmādatta also closely resembles the hair-style of the ogress painted in the fifth century Ajanta Cave XVII illustrating Sīṃhala Avadāna.⁹

Dr. James Bird had discovered at Kanheri a copper-plate grant of the Traikūṭakas in 1839.¹⁰ He states this was found at the base of one of the largest stūpas built of cut stone situated immediately in front of the large arched cave and on a ledge of the mountain, some thirty or forty feet below, there are several small stūpas. The only large stūpa built of cut stone and situated in the midst of several other brick stūpas in the entire Kanheri complex is at the cemetery site. However, it is not immediately in front of the large arched cave. But from the other descriptions of Dr. Bird mentioned above we conjecture that the copper-plate was found from the stone stūpa at the cemetery site. Unfortunately the original copper-plate is not now traceable but a copy of the inscription is available.

The inscription records that in the year 245 Buddharuchi, the son of Buddhaśri and Pushyavarman and a devoted servant of the holy Śākya Sage

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁷ Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, 1965, p. 201, fig. 36.

⁸ Madanjeet Singh, *The Cave Paintings of Ajanta*, Great Britain, 1965, p. 82, pl. 39.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 163, pl. 75.

¹⁰ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. V: Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era, ed. by V. V. Mirashi, Part I, Ootacamund, 1955, pp. 29-32.

(Buddha) and the venerable monk who heard his law, who hailed from the village Kāpaka included in the Sindhu *nishaya*, erected at Kṛishṇagiri the *Chaitya* with dressed stones and bricks dedicated to the venerable Śāradvatīputra (Sāriputra), the chief disciple of the Buddha as a tooth relic.

The date corresponds to 493-94 or 494-95 A.D. according as the year 245 in Kālachuri era was current or expired.

Dr. E. W. West¹¹ had discovered another stone inscription near the stone *stūpa* with the date "Samvat 731 i.e. 674 A.D." This perhaps indicates renovation done to the existing *stūpa*.

From the above evidences the Kanheri sculpture can safely be dated to the end of the fifth century A.D.

¹¹ E. W. West, "Copies of Inscriptions from the Buddhist Cave Temples of Kanheri etc. in the Island of Salsette, with a Plan of the Kanheri Caves", *JBBRAS*, O.S., Vol. VI, 1862, p. 12.

THIKĀNĀ PAINTINGS FROM ĀNTARĀ

Karl Khandalavala

Students of Rajasthani painting have for long been acquainted with a group of *Rāgamālā* miniatures which have marked characteristics of their own. One such set is in the Jaipur Museum and has been reproduced in colour on a reduced scale in a Museum publication.¹ It has for long been attributed to Jaipur though the reason is not evident. Several examples of a similar *Rāgamālā* are in the Boston Museum and are reproduced in Coomaraswamy's *Catalogue of Rājput Painting* at Pl. XXI and Pl. XXII. O. C. Gangoly in his *Rāgas and Rāginīs*, Calcutta, 1935, has also illustrated quite a number of paintings of this school. Archer, in his brochure *Central Indian Painting*, (Faber and Faber, London, 1960), reproduced an example at Pl. 10 and ascribed it to Central India. Many other reproductions of paintings of this category exist. The present writer reproduced one example as Pl. XI in his *Indian Sculpture and Painting an Introductory Study*, Bombay, 1938, wherein it was dated early seventeenth century but in fact it belongs, with all similar miniatures, to the eighteenth century.

Some years ago when the Kānkrolī Mahārāj, the head of a religious sect, had brought some of his paintings to the Prince of Wales Museum, we found that in a *Rāgamālā* set which had certain affinities to the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* group one miniature of that series bore an inscription giving the name of the place as Ambāti-Amer and the date as equivalent to A.D. 1709. Examples of this Amer set are reproduced by S. K. Andhare in *Lalit Kālā No. 15*, and hence it is not necessary to reproduce them in the present Bulletin. One of the principal characteristics of these so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* paintings is the female type with a small and rather delicate face and a slender body. It is quite unmistakable. With the discovery of the Kānkrolī set several critics began to classify all the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* paintings as belonging to the Amer school and that is how they are often referred to now-a-days. However, in quite a number of miniatures of the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* group the palace architecture resembles that seen in the Malwa school and this fact no doubt influenced Archer to regard such sets as belonging to some Central Indian centre of Rajasthani painting. Of course it must be remembered that there are still old buildings in Amer and Jaipur with high expanse of walls, small windows and balconies and the Bengal type curved roofs which could have provided the models for the palaces seen in these *Rāgamālā* sets. Despite

¹ Satya Prakash, *Ragaragini Miniatures from The Central Museum, Jaipur*, 1960.

the discovery of the Amer *Rāgamālā* belonging to the Kānkroli Mahārāj it is still not clear whether the majority of these so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* paintings can be attributed only to Amer and Jaipur. The female type in the Amer set does somewhat resemble that seen in the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* sets though it is not identical. The architecture, however, of the dated Amer set is not fully comparable to that seen in the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* paintings in so far as the expanse of high palace walls with small balconies and windows and Bengal type curved roofs are absent in the Amer set. So also the trees, landscape and colouring of the Amer miniatures do not afford any striking similarities with the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* group. It may, however, be contended that the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* miniatures are a later development from the Amer set. My own viewpoint is that a satisfactory answer as to the exact provenance of the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* paintings must be awaited. The various sets in this group often show variations which are somewhat puzzling and it may be that the style was not confined to a limited area. Some critics suggest the possibility of a Bikaner origin but this does not seem feasible. For the time being I will leave these problems of provenance aside and content myself with drawing attention to three sets in which a female type somewhat like that of the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* sets appears. The first of these sets consists of illustrations to the *Sudayabachchhai Sāvālingā ni Chaupai* which is an old Marwari love romance. On folio I, at the top is a colophon (Fig. 56) which reads as follows:

"Here ends the *Chaupai* of *Sudayabachchhai Sāvālingā*.

Dated *Samvat* 1814 in the month of *Mārgaśīrsha* in the black half on Friday, the 6th. This book is of *Sāhājī Śrī Dolatrāmjī* at *Āntardā* town which was transferred(?) in the name of *Rājā Mahārājā Śrī Durag Singhjī* in the town of *Āntardā*. Written by *Joshi* of the *Bhoyā* community. May he live long."

The meaning is not quite clear and the reference to *Āntardā*, an important *thikānā* of Bundī according to *Tod*,² does not necessarily indicate that there was a school of painting in *Āntardā*. Two folios of the set including the one which bears the colophon were recently acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum (Figs. 53-56). There is, however, a related *Rāgamālā* set (Figs. 57-58) in private possession which also bears a colophon (Fig. 60) which reads as follows: "This book was made for *Sāhājī Śrī Dolatrāmjī*, written by *Joshi Bhoyā Samvat* 1822; painter *Sojirām* resident of *Gadh Ranthambor*. *Sāhājī Śrī Dolatrāmjī* of the *Gherawal* clan of *Jagraniwālā*."

The scribe is the same as in the first set namely, *Joshi Bhoyā*, and it was commissioned for the same patron namely, *Śrī Dolatrāmjī*, eight years later in A.D. 1765. The colophon, moreover, gives the name of the painter as *Sojirām*, a resident of *Gadh Ranthambor*. Some words in this colophon are

² J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. III, London, 1920, p. 1506, F.N. 2.

rubbed and not very distinct but on careful observation of the original, it appears that they refer to the manuscript being produced in Āntardā. In the circumstances the colophon can be read to mean that the manuscript was also painted in Āntardā as it is unlikely that the manuscript portion was written in Āntardā and the paintings made elsewhere. Śrī Dolatrāmji who appears to have been a patron of illustrated manuscripts probably had one or more painters in his employ at Āntardā to illustrate the manuscripts written for him by Joshi Bhoyā and others. Sojirām the painter came from Ranthambor and may have had his training there. But it is equally possible that he learnt his craft elsewhere, in view of the fact that the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* style was fairly wide spread and variations of that style seem to have existed at several centres including Āntardā. However, the basic problem as to the original provenance of the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* style remains to be solved.

With the development of Rajasthani painting its popularity increased. Apart from court patronage in the leading Rajasthani states, numerous *thikānās* also began to patronize artists. The result was that a large body of *thikānā* painting of varying quality came into existence. It affords an interesting insight into the life, past-times and pleasures of the feudal Thakors. Moreover, such paintings preserve for us a valuable portrait gallery of the Rajasthani nobility. Another form of patronage which grew up was at the hands of the merchant classes and those with religious or literary inclinations. Our Śrī Dolatrāmji was probably one of these cultured gentlemen who delighted in the possession of illustrated manuscripts. Thus we may tentatively postulate a school of *thikānā* painting at Āntardā.

The two Āntardā sets are not strictly in the manner of the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* paintings and are best regarded as a variation of the group in which some Bundi school influence can also be discerned, though not very marked. A similar series is to be found in the Bharatiya Itihāsa Samshodhana Mandal, Poona (Fig. 59).²

A word may be said with regard to the suggested Central Indian origin of the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* sets. Though the architecture often has a resemblance to that seen in the Malwa school, the male and female types are different. The characteristic large pom-poms almost invariably worn by the women folk in the Malwa school are entirely absent in the so-called Jaipur *Rāgamālā* sets. So also the colouring of the two groups differs widely in tonality.

Though Sojirām is mentioned as the painter of the *Rāgamālā* set in private possession, the colophons of the *Sudayabachehkhāi Sāvalīṅgā ni Chaupai* and the Poona *Rāgamālā* have no reference to the painters thereof. The style and colouring of the latter two sets are, however, related to the work of Sojirām and may have been painted by him. Even if all the three sets are by different artists,

² This set has a date V.S. 1824-A.D. 1767 and the name of the scribe is given as Bhalima Devra.

they appear to be the products of the same school of *thikānā* painting, which seems to have flourished at Āntardā in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is a minor school but the best folios of these three sets possess sufficient charm to interest us. As usual each set contains a number of folios that are somewhat pedestrian.

The *Vīr Vinod*⁴ informs us that Āntardā was originally one of the *thikānās* owing allegiance to Ranthambor. The chiefs of both Āntardā and Ranthambor were *Hādās*. When Mādho Singh of Jaipur was given Ranthambor by the Mughal emperor of Delhi, he expected Āntardā and the other feudatories such as Pipaldā, Nimola, Karwar, etc. to give their allegiance to him. They, however, transferred their allegiance to Rāo Śatruśāl of Kotah who was also a *Hādā* Rajput. This led to a war between Jaipur and Kotah in which the latter was victorious.

The folk tale of *Sudayabachchhai Sāvaliṅgā* more commonly known as "Sadevant Sāvaliṅgā" is a love romance which was popular in Gujarat and Marwar. The story consists of seven chapters and Sudayakumār's exploits with his beloved Sāvaliṅgā are composed in the form of couplets and *chaupais* mostly in Devanagari script in a mixed Marwari dialect. The story in short is as follows: Sudayakumāra a prince once wandering in the forest during a hunt sees a young girl by the side of a river along with her father and falls in love with her and at once decides to possess her. The innocent girl whose father is a poor Sanskrit Pandit is perplexed. The prince desires to meet her and his attempts to win her love are described in the *chaupais*.

I am obliged to Shri S. K. Andhare, our Assistant Curator, for obtaining a Gujarati text of the *Sudayabachchhai Sāvaliṅgā ni Chaupai* and also for bringing to my notice the two sets related to the Āntardā folios in the Museum.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

Fig. 53. Episodes from the life of Sudayakumāra.

Folio from the illustrated MS. of *Sudayabachchhai Sāvaliṅgāni Chaupai*. Rajasthanī; painted at the *thikānā* of Āntardā. Dated A.D. 1737. Scribe's name Joshi Bhoyā. Size : 27 x 17 cm. without border. P.W.M. No. 70.1/A- ob.

The scene is laid in an open landscape divided by pink coloured stylized rocks, a meandering river and green ground.

In the upper part of the painting Sudayakumāra is seen walking through a forest represented by three trees. He is wearing a yellow short *dhoti* and holds a stick. In the centre he is seen sleeping on the bank of the river where a group

⁴ Mahākavirāya Shyāmaladāsa, *Vīr Vinod*, Vol. II, N.D., Chapter 12-13, p. 141B.

of five women are discussing him. In the foreground Sudayakumāra is seen visiting a *yogi* seated on the bank of the river.

Blue and white cloudy sky on the top; pastel green ground and broad vermilion border with *chaupāis* and *dohās* written in black ink on yellow ground.

Fig. 54.

Rādhā and Kṛishṇa dancing in the moon light to the accompaniment of musical instruments. Size : 28 × 17 cm. without border. P.W.M. No. 70.2/A ob.

The scene depicts Kṛishṇa wearing *pīlāmbara* and *mukuta* is dancing under a tree along with Rādhā holding one end of the *oḍhni* standing in the centre, being accompanied by three *gopīs* playing on *myidāṅga*, cymbals etc. Orange and blue sky with white full-moon on the top; semi-stylized trees in the background including a palm; lotus pool in the foreground; broad red border; no inscription.

Fig. 55.

Rādhā and Kṛishṇa seated on a *chauki* within a bower. Size : 27 × 17.9 cm. P.W.M. No. 70.2/B.

Amidst plantain and other trees with peacocks and other birds the divine couple is seated on a *chauki* having a flowering bower and balusters etc. In front are three female devotees, the one near the bower sits with folded hands while the two others stand behind her. An attendant also stands on the right. Pastel green ground with lotus pool in the front.

Fig. 57. *Rāgini Bhairavi*.

Illustration from a *Rāgamālā* set painted at Āntardā in A.D. 1765. Scribe's name Joshi Bhoyā resident of Ranthambor. Collection: Mr. G. K. Singh of Neemach. Size : 26.5 × 16 cm. (approx.).

The early morning atmosphere is created by the presence of dark grey sky and crescent moon in the top left corner; semi-circular horizon topped with stylized trees; a white Śiva temple in the centre on the bank of a lotus lake. The heroine wearing a *ghāgrā*, *choli* and *oḍhni* is seen seated worshipping the Śiva *līṅga*, while a group of female attendants stand behind her with offerings.

Fig. 58. *Rāga Megha-Mallār*.

Illustration from a *Rāgamālā* set painted at Āntardā in A.D. 1765. Scribe's name Joshi Bhoyā resident of Ranthambor. Collection: Mr. G. K. Singh of Neemach. Size : 26.5 × 16 cms. (approx.).

The painting depicts a rainy day with tumultuous sky, serpentine lightning and rain. In the centre against the pastel green ground Kṛiṣṇa is seen dancing holding a *vāṇā* in his hand amongst *gopīs* accompanying him on musical instruments. Semi-stylized trees with elongated trunks and straight palms to the right and a lotus pool in the foreground create the emotional atmosphere of Megha-Mallār.

Fig. 59. *Rāga Kedār.*

Illustration from a set of *Rāgamālā* probably painted at Āntardā in A.D. 1767. Scribe's name Bramha Devara. Collection: Bharatiya Itihasa Samshodhana Mandala, Poona. Size: 25.5 × 14 cms. (approx.).

The painting depicts a night scene with a crescent moon and stars. Semi-circular horizon with stylized juxta-position of plantain and other trees; multi-storied building to the right and a stepped entrance wall with a horse and a groom. In the centre, in front of a palace against pastel green ground the hero is seated in the garb of a *yogi* narrating his sorrow to the king seated to his right attended by two attendants.

NOTES ON SOME RECENT ACQUISITIONS

Shridhar Andhare

(1) AN IVORY PRISTHA, GUJARAT. C. 1700 A.D. (FIGS. 61, 62)

This decorative ivory back or *pristha* of a *simhāsana* is a fine specimen of open work in ivory from Gujarat or Western India. The *pristha* in the shape of a cusped arch measuring 56 × 26 cm. is decorated symmetrically on both sides of the dividing centre line and the ornamentation is veneered on a specially prepared mica ground. The decoration as it starts from the outer edge has (1) a thick circular rope motif, (2) a broad band of floral meander, (3) a double thin line defining the motif painted red and (4) a delicate *patra toraṇa* or a palmettee confining the border from inside. The background is an arabesque within which is depicted Krishna tending cows as a cowherd, wearing a *dhoti*, *dupaṭṭā* and a three pointed *mukuta* and holding a curved stick to drive the cows, three in number, on either side. At the top near the centre line on either side is a peacock holding a garland in its beak while the cows with their staring round eyes are looking upwards; their calves are sucking milk.

Looking to the style of the workmanship, the tone of the ivory and the Vaishnavite theme, this ivory piece is thought to be of Rajasthani origin. But it will be hazardous to ascribe this work to Rajasthan alone on the basis of theme which was equally in vogue in Gujarat at the same time and Cambay, Surat and Ahmedabad as well were important centres of ivory carving. The style of this piece could be favourably compared with some figures in the illustrated Gujarati manuscripts and items of decorative art and textiles.

Krishna's three-pointed *mukuta*, the flowing ends of his narrow *dupaṭṭā*, the short *dhoti* and the curved stick interspersed with the arabesque motif are some of the common features occurring in Western Indian paintings. In the illustrations of the Tūlārām's *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*¹ paintings (now dispersed between Indian and foreign museums including the National Museum, New Delhi and Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras) the *Sarasvatī paṭā*² and the *Saktyaharī Sūtra*³ paintings from the Khajanchi collection and a few others including the *Bālagopāla Stuti* folio (Fig. 64) in the Prince in Wales Museum (No. 54.42) it

¹ Stuart Cary Welch and Milo Cleveland Beach, *Gods, Thrones, and Peacocks*, Asia House Gallery, New York, 1965, fig. 15.

² Karl Khandalavala, Moti Chandra and Pramod Chandra, *Miniature Paintings A Catalogue of the Exhibition of Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection*, Lalit Kala Akademi, Delhi, 1960, figs. 8 and 9.

³ *Ibid.*, figs. 97 and 98.

is apparent that the dominating factor in their composition is the arabesque. Its rendering varies from painting to painting according to the period; that the folkish element is accentuated vigorously has been widely accepted by scholars.⁴ In the medium of wood the same ornamentation is repeated as seen at the entrance of a Jain shrine door from Surat⁵ (middle of the sixteenth century), where the motif is visible above the Gaja-Lakshmi panel on the inner lintel and also on the sides of the vertical panels between the two decorative jambs. The origin of such Indo-Muslim motifs may even go to a much earlier period than the sixteenth century but its impact on wood work is clearly seen on another important landmark of wood work, the Vadi Pārāśvanāth temple at Anhilwada Patan⁶ dated 1594-96 A.D. The detail of the balcony of the above structure has a stylized version of the same arabesque and other minor details.

In the eighteenth century, however, the motif appears to get mixed up and its form becomes more simplified, yet its ancestry to the early Western Indian wood work could not be denied. It appears that the seventeenth century indigenous art tradition which was undergoing a transition through the Mughal style with a touch of folkish element had hitherto not escaped the craftsman and we see a curious mixture of the same ornamentation on a much later wood work from the Baroda Museum.⁷ The central column with arches, architrave and cornice shows a number of motifs repeated on the back of the *sindhāsana*. The floral meander is identical to that of one on the *prīṣṭha* and the cusped arch, the rope motif, etc. tally to a great extent in both the works. The modelling of the peacock in the *prīṣṭha*, holding *mālā* in its beak, also has a resemblance with the peacock depicted on this piece of wood work.

In the figurative textiles from Ahmedabad⁸ at least from the eighteenth century onwards the Indo-Muslim folk elements are judiciously inter-woven. In the execution of the Vaishnavite themes in textiles (Fig. 63) the Western Indian or Gujarati features are pronounced. Here again we see Krishna wearing a three pointed *mukuta* and holding the typical curved stick. The cows stand with one of their front legs lifted, looking upwards as in the ivory panel. The peacock also surmounts the motif identically.

Thus it is apparent that the overall decoration, the concept and the theme of this ivory *prīṣṭha* appear to be Western Indian or Gujarati in style of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Fixing a provenance of the ivory piece will be to some extent hazardous but it is likely that the piece is of Patan or Surat origin.

⁴ Stuart Cary Welch and Milo Cleveland Beach, *op. cit.*, See note at fig. 15.

⁵ H. Goetz, *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*, Vol. VI, pts. I-II, 1948-49 fig. 2.

⁶ B. N. Treasurywala, "Wood Sculpture from Gujarat", *Rupam* Nos. 33-34, Calcutta, 1928, fig. 14.

⁷ H. Goetz, "A Monument of Old Gujarati Wood Sculpture", *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*, Vol. VI, Parts I-II, 1948-49, Pl. III, fig. 4.

⁸ The Textile piece showing Krishna Rādhā and cows embroidered in silver and gold brocade on a deep green satin cloth is reproduced here with the kind permission of the owner.

- (2) A TINSEL PRINTED *RUMĀL*: DECCANI, LATE 18TH CENTURY.
(FIGS. 67, 65, 66)

In the year 1963 a fine specimen of *kalamkāri rumāl* (Acc. No. 63.34) measuring 81 × 73 cm., almost a square size, was acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum. Since it is lined by a piece of patterned woollen cloth it has been preserved in an excellent condition. It is the most important acquisition of that year by the Museum.

In the centre of the *rumāl* is a stylised representation of the 'Tree of Life' (Fig. 67) growing on the top of a mound. It is balloon shaped and its oval foliage is laden with flowers and fruits and parrots are seen perched on its branches. The tree is flanked on the top by a peacock on either side.

The interesting hill in the foreground is represented by a series of serrated rocks with swarming of birds, wild animals and a variety of trees in green, white, pink and crimson. In the middle plane, against the pale blue background, are shown four female figures standing under trees and clad in typically Rajasthani costume comprising of a *ghagrā*, *choli* and *odhani* apparently offering obeisance to the central tree. The first holds an *āratī* (lamp) while the other three, on either side, stand holding a fan, a *chaurī* and a *morchhal*. The top panel represents a forest with dense congregation of birds and animals. The flowering tree with crimson flowers forms a repeat motif in the scroll borders running on all the sides of about 10 cm. broad.

It may be pointed out here that in the Masulipatam wax cloth⁹ such as the praying carpets, curtains, handkerchiefs, etc. the pattern always assumes the form of a great central "Tree of Life",¹⁰ accomplished in a rich deep red-brown with a profusion of blue. From the literary evidences, letters and reports on export of Indian cotton paintings to England, France and to Persia it has been clearly established by Irwin¹¹ that the finest class of work was done at Sironj in Rajasthan; Burhanpur in Khandesh and Petaboli and Palakollu in Golconda seaboard and certain towns in the hinterland of the St. Thome (modern Madras) in the seventeenth century. The reports do not mention Masulipatam as a centre of production but it was an active port for the trade of Indian painted cotton articles for which there was a great demand in the foreign countries.

The first authentic description of the Coromandel chintz is by a French naval officer Beaulieu¹² of c. A.D. 1734 which is followed by a still more detailed report, a letter sent by Father Coeurdoux, a Jesuit missionary from Pondi-

⁹ Sir George Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, Calcutta, 1903, Division 29, p. 229.

¹⁰ G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies in the XVIIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, London, 1921, Pl. 25 B.

¹¹ J. Irwin, "Golconda Cotton Paintings of the Early Seventeenth Century", *Lalit Kalā* No. 5, Delhi, 1959, p. 12.

¹² P. R. Schwarz, "French Documents on Indian Cotton Painting Pt. I", *Journal of Indian Textile History* No. II, 1956, pp. 5-23.

chery, dated 1742, A.D.¹³ to a father resident in Europe giving an eye opening account of the cotton painting of the South. Apart from this account, the French traveller Bernier who visited the court of Shāh Jahān in 1663 gives a careful description of the splendour of his court when he refers to the canopies and curtains of gold and embroidered silks in the Diwān-i-Ām. Tavernier, a seventeenth century dealer in precious stones, also refers to the chintz or painted *calicots* which were called (*kalamdārs*) or specimens of *kalam-kārī* work done by a kind of a pencil in the kingdom of Golkunda and near about Masulipatam. The pink forms of the Masulipatam work and the dainty filigree of the fern-like tracery on a white or off-white field is often elaborated by the *kalamdār*. Sometimes it is block printed in light shades of the same red and is often repeated all over the piece.

Since it is said that in South India such *rumāls* were largely produced for external and internal distribution it is likely that this particular piece was commissioned for a Vaishnava patron perhaps from Rajasthan who must have provided the female type appearing in the *rumāl*.

A close examination of this *rumāl* reveals a mixture of two techniques¹⁴ adopted simultaneously. Baker has given a detailed description of the method of printing and painting which gives a fair idea of the process and the trade of painted textiles of that period. It is a curious mixture of waxing and painting i.e. of *kalamkārī* and tinsel work.

However, the demarcation between waxing and tinsel printing is marked and deserves clarification as the tinsel method envisages the use of an adhesive substance which is printed over the texture and subsequently dusted with colouring matter, whereas the wax-cloth ornamentation is carried out by the use of an oleaginous substance (*roghan*) which is thickened with pigments before being applied over the larger areas of the textile. In some cases gold and silver dust is dusted or laid over the *roghan* before it sets. This also gives a shimmer to the pattern.

In the case of this *rumāl* the workmanship of the border, the central mound and the balloon-shaped off white ground of the tree give us an idea of the degree of excellence obtained by the tinsel printer. It appears that yellow coloured glue, gum or other adhesive is first printed over the portions and pure gold leaf is then laid on the designs indiscriminately. Such type of work is then dried in the shade, rolled up and unrolled bit by bit after being moistened by a wet cloth. When it is adequately damp gold is dabbed over the surface. This method of application of gold is lasting and also gives a richness to the piece of fabric.

¹³ P. R. Schwartz, "French Documents on Indian Cotton Painting Pt. II", *Journal of Indian Textile History* No. III, 1957, pp. 15-44.

¹⁴ G. P. Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-15.

Though South India is said to be the chief centre for such types of *kalamkāri* work, a closer stylistic study reveals certain features which are characteristic of the Rajasthani work observed in painted temple hangings known as *picchavāṇis*¹⁴. The stylisation of animals, trees laden with mangoes, facial and costume types of the women etc. are close to Rajasthani than to South Indian, though the overall South Indian sumptuousness of the work can not be denied.

It is notable that Jaipur had also attained a high proficiency in the tinsel work. Many of the Sanganer calicos had first patterns printed with resist paste, then vat-dyed, the resist was then removed and the floral designs on the pale black or pale green ground printed in gold and colour, were also famous and it is, therefore, likely that this *rumāl* might have been done in Sanganer area.

(3) A DATED PORTRAIT OF UMMED SINGH OF SHAHPURA.

Among the newly acquired paintings in the year 1970, the Museum has made an interesting acquisition of an equestrian portrait of Rājā Ummad Singh of Shahpura (No. 70.3) (Fig. 68). It has a dated inscription and reveals some other details about the ruler which were hitherto unknown.

The portrait depicts the chief of Shahpura mounted on a dark brown horse with a *huggā* pipe in his right hand and a male *chauri*-bearer standing on his right almost completely covered by the horse. Ummad Singh is shown clad in a completely white costume. He wears a long *jāmā* and a white turban, the type of which is rather difficult to name unless this type of turban was in vogue at the *thikānā* of Shahpura in Mewar around the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Shahpura chief was first identified by virtue of two scanty supercriptions on a painting from the Cowasji Collection, Bombay¹⁵ which read 'Rājā Ummad Singh of Shahpura and Rājā Rām Singh Chauhan of Nimrānā'. He is characterised through his caricaturistic jesture, his long and drooping moustache and his peculiar posture. In another painting from the same collection the two chiefs are shown walking behind a cart drawn by two hyaenas.¹⁷ These two works have been attributed to the artist Gaṅgārām whose earliest work in the collection of Kumar Sangram Singh of Jaipur bears the date A.D. 1745¹⁸. A detailed account of artist Gaṅgārām¹⁹ has been given in the Khajanchi Catalogue.

¹⁴ R. N. Mehta, "Picchavāṇi: temple-hangings of the Vallabhācārya sect," *Journal of Indian Textile History*, No. III, 1957. Frontispiece in colour depicting female figures under a tree.

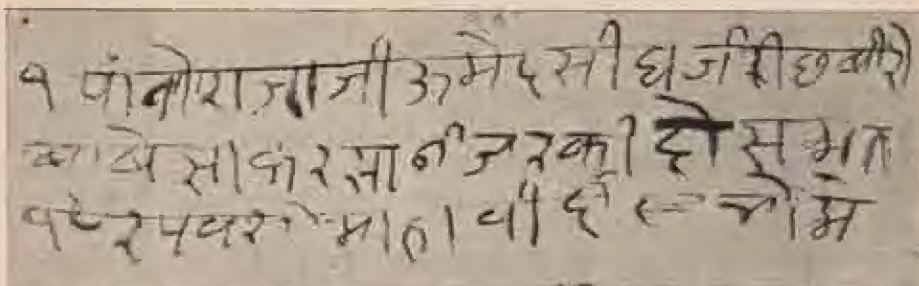
¹⁵ Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *Miniatures and Sculptures from the Collection of the Late Sir Cowasji Jehangir Bani*, Bombay, 1965, fig. 84.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 79.

¹⁷ Karl Khandalavala, Moti Chandra and Pramod Chandra, *Miniature Paintings A Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection*, Lalit Kālā Akademi, New Delhi, 1960, p. 61, fig. 159.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

On the reverse of this portrait an inscription appears in Devanāgarī script:



It may be roughly translated as: 'Page 1 of the portrait of Rājā Ummed Singhji presented by Bābe Sākarsā (?) in Samvat 1825, Māhāvīdi 8 on a Monday'.

As in many other *ṭhikānā* paintings from Rajasthan it is difficult to be positive about the style and characteristic features of Shahpura paintings, as the examples discovered differ from each other.

However, the picturesque personality of Ummed Singh due to his renowned political and historical background is well known. It has been possible to extract some more information about him and the *ṭhikānā* of Shahpura to which he belonged.

The *ṭhikānā* of Shahpura comes under the second grade *ṭhikānās* of Mewar. It is bound on the North and North East by Ajmer and on other sides by Jaipur state except the North East corner which touches Kishangarh. This *ṭhikānā* was founded by the elevation of Sujān Singh to the throne by Shāh Jahān in V.S. 1685/1628 A.D.²⁰ In the time of Jagat Singh I (1628-1652) from whom he captured the *ṭhikānā* and gave it to Sujān Singh. Later it was attached to Mewar by Mahārājā Rāj Singh (1652-1680). Aurangzeb detached it from Mewar for a short period but later on it was merged and remained as a part of Mewar till the end of the Marāṭha rule. Subsequently, Mahārājā Arī Singh II (1761-1773) had added a small *paṭṭā* of Kācholā to Shahpura during Ummed Singh's reign in V.S. 1823/1766 A.D.²¹ which remained under the territory of Mewar.

The Shahpura family belonged to the Sisodia clan of Rajputs being descendants of Amar Singh I (1597-1620), Rājā of Mewar through his son Sūraj Mal. Sujān Singh after coming to the throne changed the name of his *ṭhikānā* after his benefactor and named it as Shahpura.

²⁰ Mahākavirājā Syāmalalāsa, *Pr. Vīṇā* (Hindi), Part I, pp. 140-141.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Ummed Singh²² who is sixth in the table of genealogy²³ had apparently a very chequered career. He often indulged in petty conspiracies resulting in murders and tyrannies. He captured his father Bharat Singh and put him in prison where he ultimately died.²⁴ He conspired against Ravat Dalel Singh of Amargarh and invited him for a feast and killed him. In the battle of Gangwanā in A.D. 1741²⁵ between Sawāl Jai Singh of Jaipur and Bakhat Singh of Nagaur, Ummed Singh was in Jai Singh's army. In this battle his two brothers Sher Singh and Kushāl Singh were killed.²⁶ Later on, in order to elevate his young son Jālam Singh to the throne he poisoned his eldest son Udot Singh.

At last during the reign of Mahārāṇā Arj Singh II (1761-1773) Ummed Singh was killed in the great battle between the Rāṇās force against Zālim Singh of Kota and the Marathas on the banks of the river Siprā in 1769 A.D.²⁷

The earlier paintings by Gaṅgārām (?) from the Khajanchi collection may have been apparently executed when Ummed Singh was young. In this painting under discussion (Fig. 68) the face indicates old age as it was painted just one year before his death. Stylistically the two pictures from Khajanchi collection and the two portraits in question have little in common. The two pictures have abundance of yellow and red, whereas the painting from the Cowasji collection, Prince of Wales Museum and the one belonging to a private collector are in a rather sober key. The colours are rather cool and may be ascribed to the Marwar style of Rajasthan painting rather than to Mewar school. If Gaṅgārām's attribution is authentic, these two portraits may as well fall within the same group.

Incidentally, the painter Gaṅgārām appears to have come from the *ṣhikānā* of Kelwā near Udaipur as in one of the paintings from the Khajanchi collection²⁸ the label reads 'Gaṅgārām Kelwāko'. The distance between Shahpura and Kelwā is roughly about 80 miles. It is, therefore, likely that Gaṅgārām may have painted the pictures at Shahpura and was one of the prominent painters of that *ṣhikānā*.

²² The exact date of Ummed Singh's reign is not available through it is evident from the genealogical chart that he must have ruled between c. 1730-1769 A.D.

²³ G. H. Ojha, *The History of Rajasthan*, Vol. II-IV (2), Ajmer, 1932, pp. 1245-46.

²⁴ Kavirājā Bāṅkīdās, *Aitchank Bāṅkī* (Hindi), pp. 1878-2182.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ G. H. Ojha, *The History of Rajasthan*, Vol. II-IV (2), Ajmer, 1932, p. 1248.

²⁷ J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, London, 1920, p. 500.

²⁸ Karl Khandalavala, Moti Chandra and Pramod Chandra, *Miniature Paintings from the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection*. Figs. 110 and 111.

THE LION-SLAYER MOTIF IN THE HOYSAĀ ART

Tara Kashyap

The act of subduing or slaying a beast on a sudden impulse or in a pre-planned hunt which symbolises strength and manliness has, since ancient times, captured the imagination of artists the world over. The animal-slayer motif became popular in the art traditions of the Sumerians¹, Hittites², Iranians³, Greeks⁴ and others. Mostly lion, and to a certain extent tiger, has been associated with such motifs, for obvious reasons.

The archetype, it must be remembered, was a parallel development of the motif of the Great Mother dominating the animal world. While the association of the female with the beast is one of domination, benevolence, protection but seldom of destruction, the male is often depicted in a fierce struggle, animosity and triumph.⁵

The representation of feats of valour such as this are commonly found through various periods of history in one form or the other. Some of the Indus Valley seals which are, perhaps, the earliest of the Indian examples, represent a horned being attacking a beast and another attacking, single-handedly, a beast on either side.⁶ What could be considered as a possible successor to this motif is carved on one of the medallions of the stūpa of Sanchi dated to 2nd century B.C. Here, a man is represented slaying a lion with a sword.⁷ Once again the same motif appears, but in a different context, viz. on the gold coins of the Gupta dynasty. As many as 42 coins from the Bayana Hoard assignable to 375-414 A.D. represent the *Simhanikrama* or lion-slayer motif.⁸ Assuming fantastic forms the motif is seen entering a more complicated phase during the mediaeval period.

¹ Bedřich Hrozný, *Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete*, Prague, p. 37, Fig. 24.

² Ekrem Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites*, New York, pl. 95.

³ R. Ghirshman, 'Notes Iraniques XIII', *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXVI 3/4, p. 302-303, Figs. 4 and 11.

⁴ Pierre Demargne, *Aegean Art*, London, 1964, p. 284, Fig. 365.

⁵ Eric Neumann, *The Great Mother*, London, 1955, p. 272, Fig. 62.

⁶ E. J. H. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1937, Pl. LXXXIV, Nos. 75 and 86.

⁷ J. Marshall and A. Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. III, Pl. XCI (88b).

⁸ A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Bombay, 1954, pl. XVIII, No. 4.

The legend of Saja who had killed the tiger or lion to save his Jaina preceptor Sudatta and had won a kingdom for himself ideally fitted into the animal-slayer motif already in vogue. As a result of the victory of the Hoysalas over the Kadambas⁹ whose dynastic emblem was a lion, the animal-slayer motif acquired greater significance. It took a material form around the first quarter of the twelfth century. The towers, basements and eaves of the temples built by the Hoysalas came to be adorned with the motif. These various motifs could be grouped into three distinct categories namely, the crest types, narrative freizes and the decorative freizes.

The Prince of Wales Museum has in its collection a carved slab (Fig. 70) depicting this theme, which could be categorised in the group of narrative freizes. Equipped with a sword and a shield and accompanied by dogs, a hunter is seen astride horseback riding in the forest. A wounded boar lying at his feet indicates a successful hunt. It is at this juncture that the lion is introduced and is shown pouncing upon the hunter. An elephant is emerging from the woods in great confusion while a man is hurriedly climbing a tree.

The hunter, who has princely appearance, has a part of his hair arranged in systematic curls giving it a wig like appearance while the rest is tied into a knot at the nape of the neck. A peacock feather is stuck above his forehead. Large earrings, a long double row of pearl string, armlets, bracelets, *udarbandha* and *yajñopavita* are some of the traditional ornaments found on the person of the hunter. He holds a shield in his left hand and it can be deduced that the weapon in his right hand must have been a sword. This is corroborated by the first part of the narration wherein he is shown as holding a sword in his right hand.

The weapon associated with Saja has been variously described in the inscriptions of that period as dagger, *betta* (cane), *bettada sele*, *kuñchaka sele* (*Kuñchaka*—peacock, *salūki*—a rod of iron or wood).¹⁰

The figure in the Prince of Wales Museum group, as already mentioned is holding a sword. In the crest-type also, he is depicted as wielding a sword or a dagger. But even though a reference to the cane handles or rods exists in inscriptions, these hardly find any place in the sculptural representation.

The prototype of the wide eyed beast with its powerful paws and sharp pointed claws springing upon the hunter is also frequently referred to along with the name of Saja. Some refer to it as *puli*¹¹ meaning tiger in old Kannada and in others as *śārdūla*¹² a mythical beast which could either be a tiger or a lion.

⁹ George M. Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, Bombay, 1931, p. 378.

¹⁰ B. A. Saletore, *Medieval Jainism*, Bombay, 1938, p. 71.

¹¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V, Pt. 1, p. 36, No. 65.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 54, No. 84.

The dogs which are not specifically mentioned in the inscriptions referring to Saja, however, have been given great prominence in the group. The whole atmosphere of the tropical forest which serves as a background seems to be charged with tension.

The man and lion motif in the Hoysala art has been variously interpreted. It has been a practice to identify any such motif on the Hoysala monuments, whether Brahminical¹³ or Jaina¹⁴, as Saja group and thus associate the figure with the progenitor of the Hoysala dynasty. On the basis of the Gadag inscription¹⁵ the Prince of Wales Museum group has also been identified as King Saja proceeding on a hunting expedition.¹⁶ In the Chennakesava temple at Honnavara¹⁷ is another important inscription which gives prominence to the Saja legend, while tracing the dynastic history of the Hoysalas. Though the double row of pearl-string, *yajñopavīta*, *udarabandha* on the one hand, and the richly caparisoned horse, the hunting dogs with ornamental collars on the other indicate the royal status of the hunter. In the absence of any inscriptional evidence it is hazardous to make any conclusive statement about the figure. Besides, the goddess Vāsantikā and Jaina preceptor Suddatta, who are invariably mentioned along with Saja, in inscriptions, are conspicuous by their absence in all the groups including the one under study.

In identifying the hunter in the Prince of Wales Museum group as Saja, the chronological factors regarding the Saja motif have not been taken into account. The legend of Saja killing a lion took material form by about the first quarter of the twelfth century, that is, during the time of Vishṇuvardhana (A.D. 1108-1142). The Tripurāntakeśvara temple to which our sculpture belongs was built during the reign of Vinayāditya (A.D. 1047-1098)¹⁸, the grand-father of Vishṇuvardhana. Vinayāditya who was a faithful feudatory of the Western Chālukyas, could not have thought of glorifying the deeds of his ancestor Saja. The absence of the Hoysala crest or relevant inscriptional evidence, of the time of Nripakāma (A.D. 1006-1047) and Vinayāditya referring to the Saja legend¹⁹, it would be erroneous to interpret the royal hunter in the group under study as Saja, the progenitor of the Hoysala dynasty.

The group at best could be interpreted as a narrative frieze depicting a boar hunt. Incidentally, boar hunt was a favourite pastime of the Karmāṭaka kings. Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna III's love for this sport has been referred to

¹³ *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1933, p. 7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 36.

¹⁵ H. Lüders, "Gadag inscription of Vira Ballala II", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, 1900-01, pp. 89-97.

¹⁶ H. Cousens, 'The Chalukya Architecture', *A.S.I.* Vol. XLII N. I. series, Calcutta, 1926, p. 107.

¹⁷ *E.C.*, V, p. 36, No. 65.

¹⁸ *M.A.R.*, 1931, p. 62.

¹⁹ *M.A.R.*, 1916, p. 51.

in one of his copper plate inscriptions²⁰. Hence it is not proper to associate this motif with either a particular dynasty or a particular king. This group differs from the crest types of later times which have better claims to be identified as Śaṣa group and are invariably found on the towers of temples or at the entrance in exceptional cases, as in Chenna Keśava temple at Belār.²¹ The crests which are mostly in the round, are set to larger dimensions in contrast to the narrative types which are in high relief and set to smaller dimensions, such as the Prince of Wales Museum group. The ornate details found in the latter are lacking in the crest types which have developed directly from the animal-slayer motif.

Decorative friezes with animal-slayer motif set to smaller dimensions are often seen merging with the decorative scheme of the temples of this period. A man fighting a lion or fighting two lions simultaneously are few examples of such decorative friezes where the animal-slayer motif is almost reduced to a repetitive pattern.

Stylistically, though the Prince of Wales Museum group is affiliated to the classical idiom of the Western Chālukyas, certain characteristics distinguish it from that. The decorative ornamentation which is observable in the later Chālukyan sculpture, is found in a highly developed form in this particular group. Bunches of flowers and leaves, human and animal figures crowded into the slab form the background for this decorative style.

The heavy locks of hair piled up high and tied into a knot at the nape of neck of the hunter remind of similar hair style occurring in early and mediaeval sculptures. It is comparable to the animal-slayer motifs carved at Khajuraho²², Nadol, Suhania Than²³, etc. Schematically arranged curls which have a wig-like appearance are found both in the figure of this group as well as some figures in the crest types.

The beast, which is intended to be a lion, though some inscriptions refer to it as a tiger, is obvious derivation either from *kirtimukha* or *siṃha-vyāla*, motif of the mediaeval times.

In the depiction of the anatomy of the dogs also, the group is nearer to the contemporary trends. The dog, which is a cognizance of Bhairava is seldom depicted outside the Bhairava or the hunting groups as the one under discussion.

The sculptor marvels in the depiction of the flora and fauna of the region. The creeper foliage with clusters of flowers and leaves, though highly stylised

²⁰ A. S. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, Poona, 1934, p. 351.

²¹ R. Narasimhachar, *The Kesava Temple at Belur*, M.A.S. No. II, Bangalore, 1919, pl. XX.

²² Eilij Zanna, *Khajuraho*, The Hague, 1960, pl. XXXIV.

²³ M. A. Dhaky, *The Vyāla Figures on the Mediaeval Temples of India*, Varanasi, 1965, Figs. 2, 5, 13.

add to the beauty and the serenity of the tropical forest. Some of the characteristic features of the lion such as the flowing mane, the tufted tail and the slim undulating waist have been prominently brought out. Justice has been done to the canine anatomy, which reveals good breeding and strength. The ornamental collar round the neck of the hunting dogs and the richly caparisoned horse add to the dignity of the royal hunter.

But in the treatment of the figure sculpture, the hand of the novice is clearly discernible. The royal hunter has rather a longish face with straight features. Sculptor's attempt to project a facial type almost merging with the classical idiom has failed because of certain persistent tribal elements such as the hair-style, the peacock feather and the large earrings. The limbs which are comparatively feeble fail to convey the same sense of vigour and movement shown in the upper part of the figure.

Nevertheless the division of the relief first to show the king proceeding on a hunt, next to show the king indulging in the actual hunt indicated by the presence of the wounded boar, has in it a coherence of the narration. The stylised flowers at the top corner, the king riding into forest from the lower left corner and an elephant entering from the opposite direction, the lion with its upraised paw on the one hand and the king with his raised sword (now missing) on the other, springing in an angular movement, with the dogs and the wounded boar in the centre have greatly contributed to the compositional value of the group.

The development of this motif having thus been modified at the hands of the poet and the scribes ultimately entered the realm of plastic art in a variety of forms. Enframed within a deeply cut finely carved slab measuring 63.5 cm. high and 104.5 cm. wide, this animal-slayer motif in the Prince of Wales Museum group, has all the characteristics of the mediaeval period in general and that of the Hoysalas in particular. The soft-yielding indurated pot-stone with its fine finish of black marble has enhanced the beauty of the piece.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

Figs. 1 & 2. Book-covers. *Darśanābhāṣyā*, Nepal. Dated A.D. 1610.



Fig. 3. Madhu and Kaitabha attacking Brahmā. *Devīmāhātmya*. Nepal.
Dated A.D. 1610. Size 6.7 × 5.6 cm.



Fig. 4. Worship of the Goddess.
From the same MS as Fig. 3.
Size 5 × 5.6 cm.



Fig. 5. The Devi slaying the demon. From the same MS as Fig. 3. Size 7×5.6 cm.



Fig. 6. Worship of the Devi. From the same MS as Fig. 3. Size 5.5×5.6 cm.



Fig. 7. The demon and his messengers. From the same MS as Fig. 3. Size 6.1 × 5.6 cm.



Fig. 8. Śumbha and Niśumbha. From the same MS as Fig. 3. Size 4.8 × 5.6 cm.



Fig. 9. Slaying of the demon Raktabija. From the same MS as Fig. 3. Size 5.5 × 5.6 cm.



Fig. 10. Nārāyaṇīstuti. From the same MS as Fig. 3. Size 5.5 × 5.6 cm.



Fig. 11. Varapradāna. From the same MS as Fig. 3. Size 5.7×5.6 cm.



Fig. 12. Mārkaṇḍeya and his devotees. From the same MS as Fig. 3. Size 4.8×5.6 cm.



Fig. 13. 67.7. Jina (Neminātha?).
Brass, Western Indian School (Akota Style).
Dated A.D. 887. Ht. 16 cm.



Fig. 14. 67.8. Tri-tirthika of Pārśvanātha.
Brass, Western Indian School (Akota style).
End of 9th cent. Ht. 11 cm.



Fig. 15. 67.23. Pārśvanātha.
Brass, Western Indian School, Gujarat/Rajasthan.
Early 10th cent. Ht. 10 cm.



Fig. 16. 67.6. Rishabhanātha.
Brass, Western Indian School (Akota Style).
Late 9th-early 10th cent. Ht. 23.3 cm.

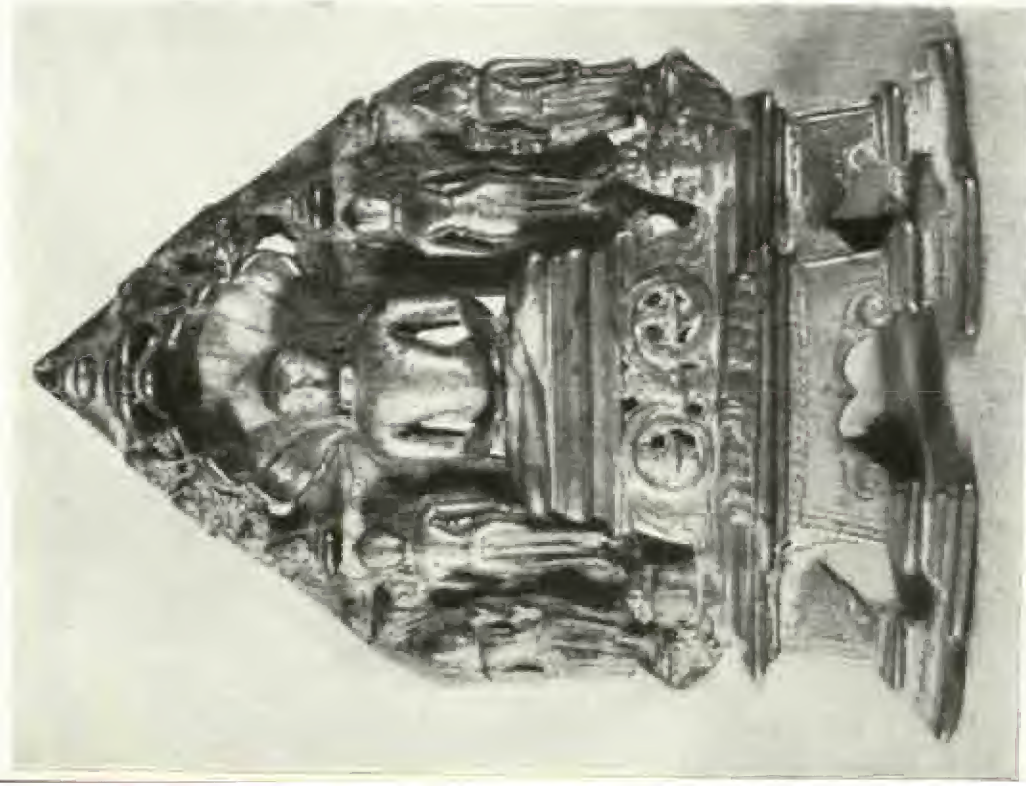


Fig. 17. 67. 1. Tri-tīrthika of Pārśvanātha. Brass, Western Indian School, Probably Vasantgadhi. Dated A.D. 1040. Ht. 20.5 cm.

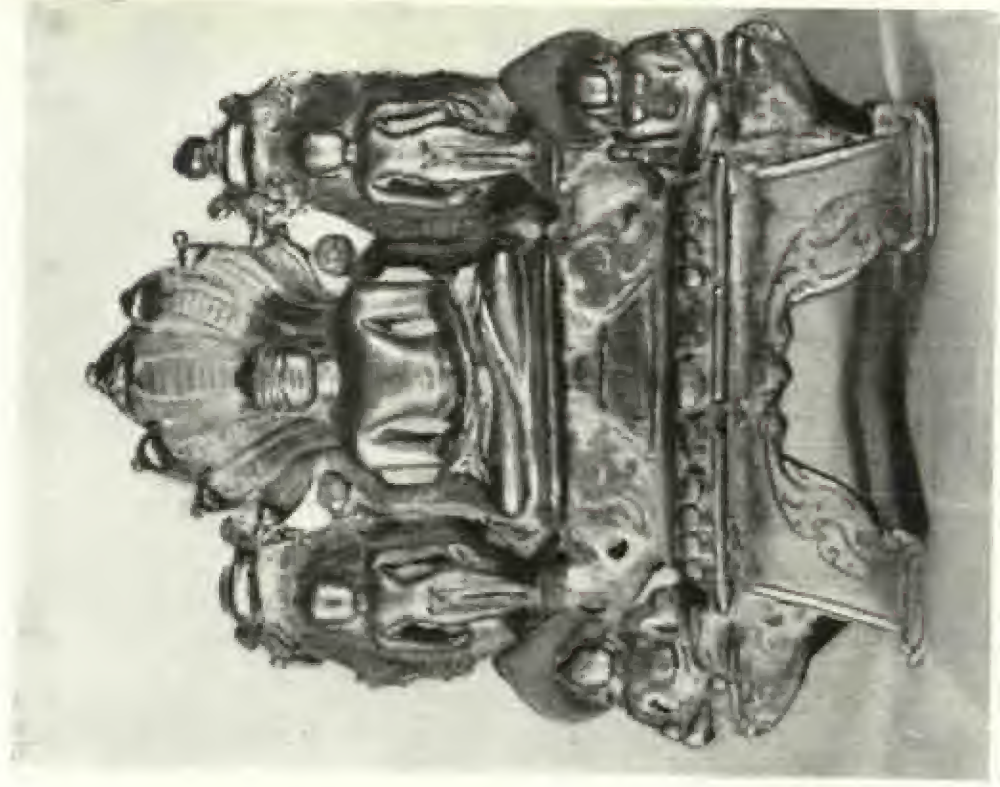


Fig. 18. 67. 13. Tri-tīrthika of Pārśvanātha. Brass, Western Indian School, Probably Vasantgadhi. c. A.D. 1050. Ht. 13.2 cm.

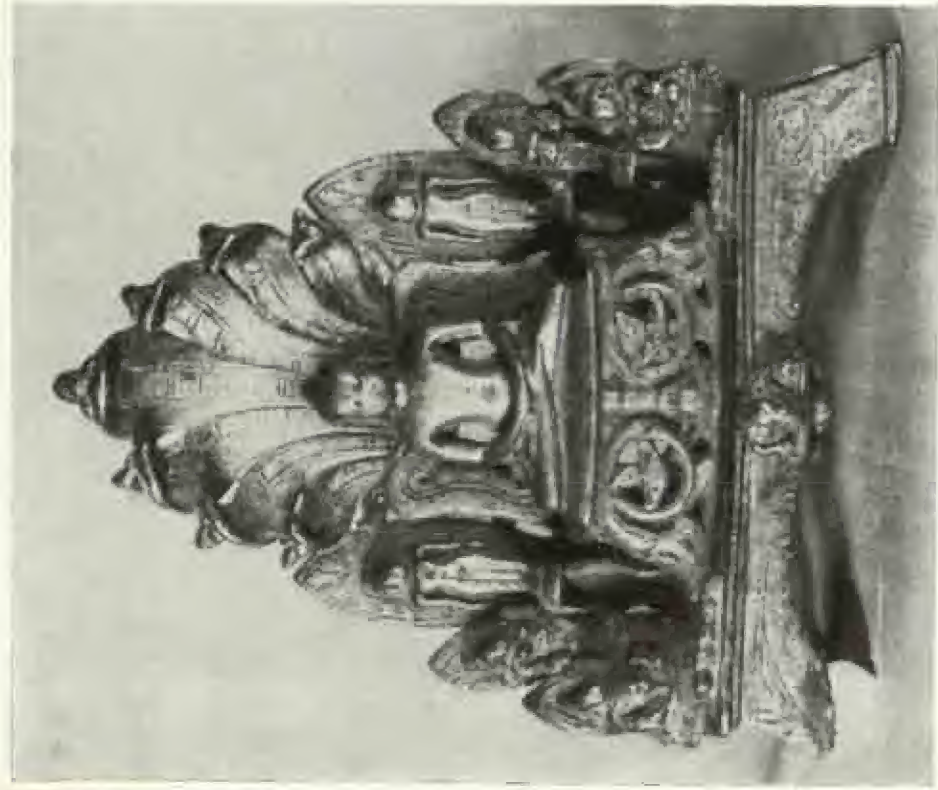


Fig. 19. 67.12, Tri-tirthika of Pārśvanātha. Brass, Western Indian School, Probably Vasantgaṇi. c. A.D. 1050, Ht. 15.5 cm.



Fig. 20. 67.10, Tri-tirthika of Pārśvanātha. Brass, Western Indian School, Probably Vasantgaṇi. Dated A.D. 1053, Ht. 20.9 cm.



Fig. 21. 67.16. Tri-tirthika of an unidentified Jina. Brass, Western Indian School, Probably Vasantgadhl. c. A.D. 1150-60, Ht. 11.5 cm.



Fig. 22. 67.25. Pañcha-tirthika of an unidentified Jina. Brass, Western Indian School, Probably Vasantgadhl. c. A.D. 1150-60.



Fig. 23. 67.18, Pārsvanātha. Brass, Western Indian School, Rajasthan. Dated A.D. 1160. Ht. 20.8 cm.

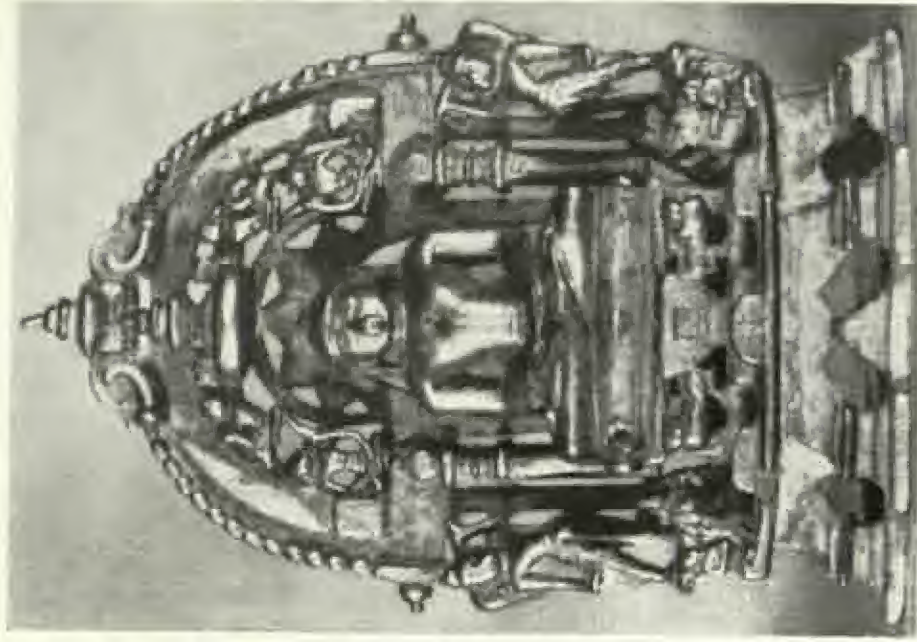


Fig. 24. 67.19, Mahāvīra. Brass, Western Indian School, Rajasthan. Dated A.D. 1186. Ht. 17.4 cm.



Fig. 25. Maitreya. Gilt bronze, Nepal. C. 12th cent. A.D. Ht. 72.2 cm.



Fig. 26.



Fig. 27.



Fig. 28.



Fig. 29. Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa. Bronze, Nepal. Dated N.S. 818=A.D. 1697. Size 24.6×22.5 cm.

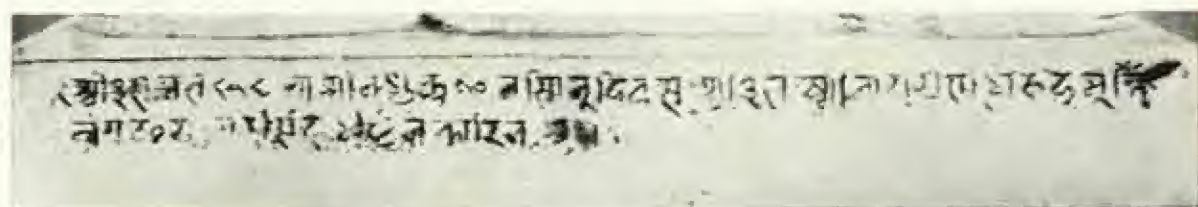


Fig. 30. Inscription on the reverse of Fig. 29.



Fig. 31. Buddha. Brass,
Kashmir. *C.* 8th cent. A.D. Ht. 22.7 cm.



Fig. 32. Avalokiteśvara. Bronze,
Kashmir. *C.* 9th cent. A.D. Ht. 68.3 cm.



Fig. 33. Back view of Fig. 32.



Fig. 34. Detail of Fig. 32.



Fig. 35. Hari Rai Temple,
Chamba, H.P.

(Photo courtesy
Mrs. O. Divakaran)



Fig. 36. Vaikunṭha Chaturmūrti. Brass. Hari Rāi Temple, Chamba.



Fig. 37. Detail of Fig. 36.



Fig. 38. Back view of Fig. 36.



Fig. 39. Side view of Fig. 36.



Fig. 40. Gadādevī. Detail of Fig. 36.
Ht. 42 cm.



Fig. 41. Chakrapurusha. Detail of
Fig. 36. Ht. 39 cm.



Fig. 42. Prthvī. Detail of Fig. 36.



Fig. 43. Sākambhari. Copper, Pāla School, East Bengal. Late 10th cent. A.D. 12.1 × 8.5 cm.



Fig. 44. Matrikā panel. Copper, Pāla School, Bengal.



Fig. 45. Vishnarūḍha Śiva. Copper, Pāla school, East Bengal. 11th cent. A.D. Ht. 15.6 cm.



Fig. 46. Vishnarūḍha Śiva. Stone, Orissa, 12th cent. A.D. Indian Museum, Calcutta.

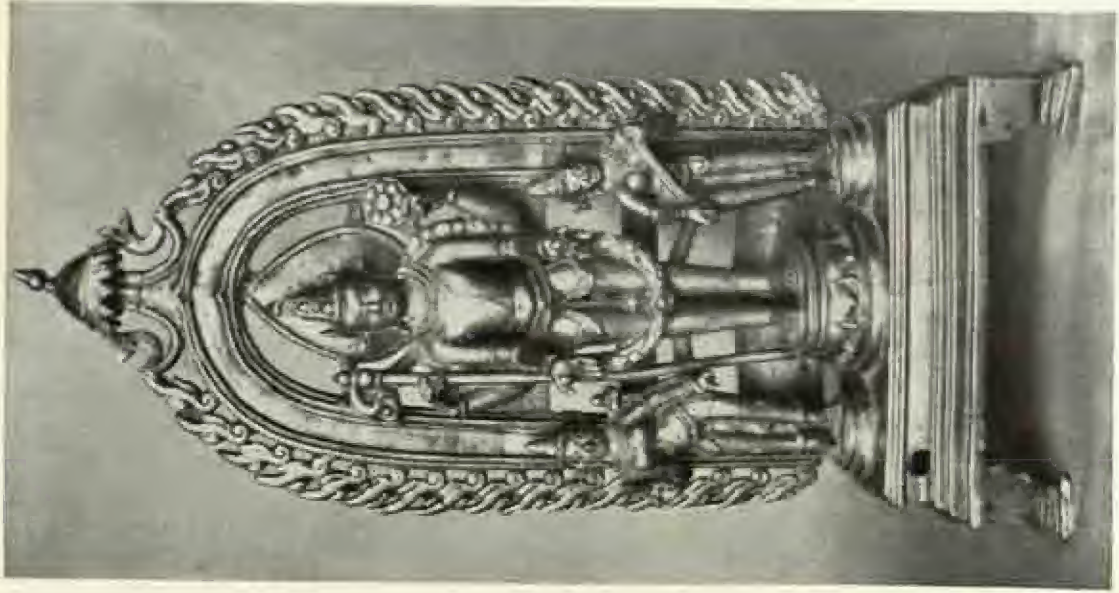


Fig. 47. Trivikrama. Bronze, Pāla School.
Late 11th cent. A.D. Ht. 33 cm.

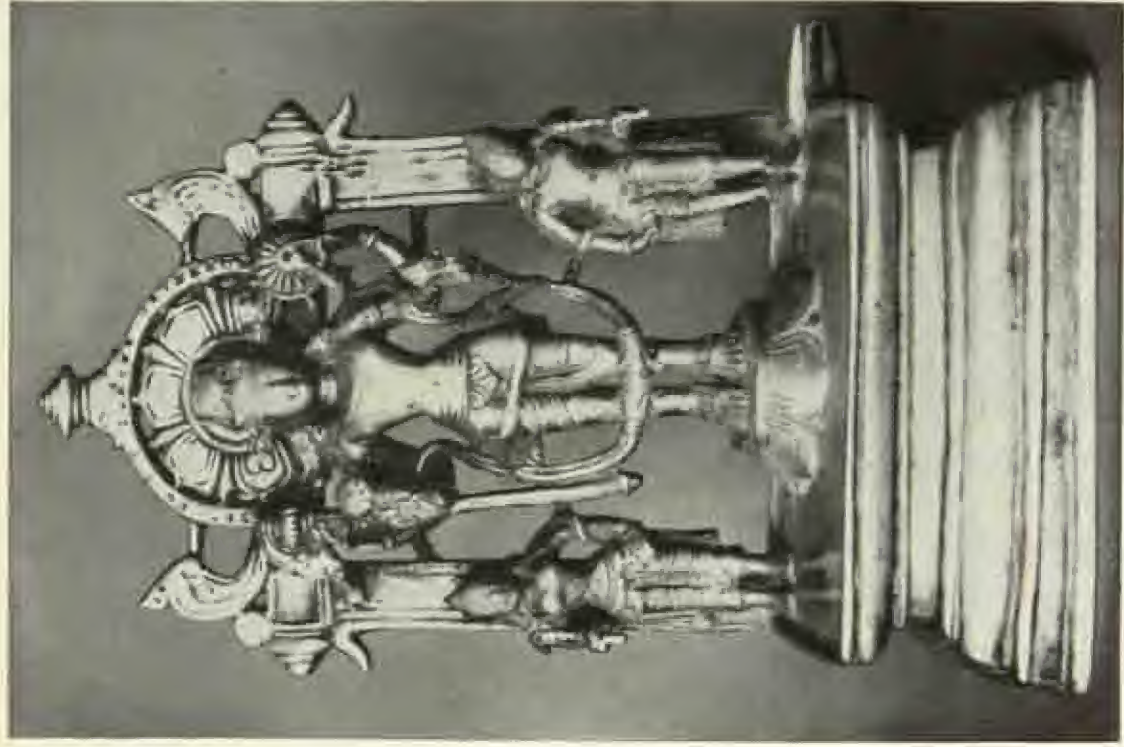


Fig. 48. Trivikrama. Brass, Gurjara Pratihāra.
9th cent. A.D. Ht. 27.9 cm.



Fig. 49. Buddha, Bronze, Probably Nāgapattinam.
C. 10th-11th cent. A.D. Ht. 60.7 cm.



Fig. 50.



Fig. 51.

Fig. 50 & 51. Mahāsutasoma Jātaka. Stone panel, Kanheri. End of 5th cent. A.D.



Fig. 52. Line-drawing, after E.W. West.



Fig. 53. Episode from the life of Sudayakunāra. Folio from an illustrated MS. of *Sudayabachehkal Sāvalīngānī Chāupai*. Painted at Ānandā in A.D. 1767. Size 27 × 17 cm.

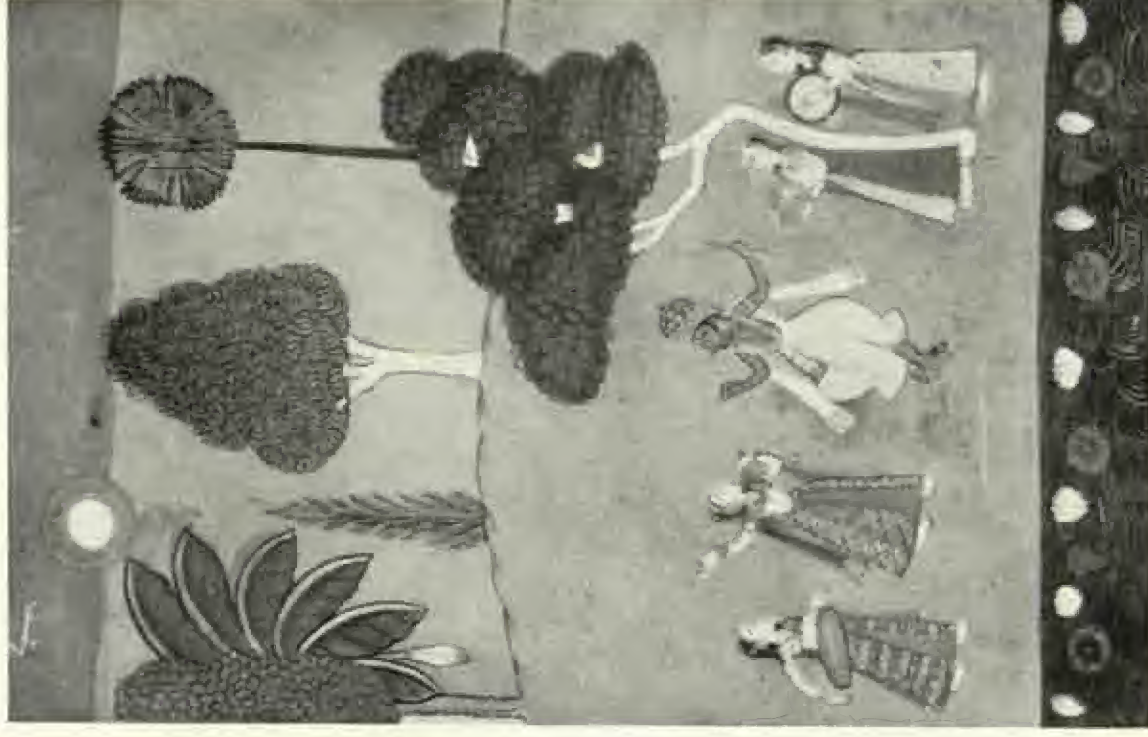


Fig. 54. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa dancing. Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 53.



Fig. 55. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa seated on a *chauki*.
Folio from the same MS. as Fig. 53.

मैष्वाखगोरची कविजनपरमकिरयाल मुलिकैहामीजिनकरदु कविप्रदम्
दयाल ॥ ४३ ॥ रतीलीमदयवदिसवनिगचापदिसररापुनाप्रिसमु ॥
गवतपरभा ॥ हिसमोवसरमास सुनलनमपितमोद ॥ ४४ ॥ लार ॥ ५२ ॥ पु
कनोसाहासीप्रिदो नगरं मुको ॥ नयनप्रदासपिराजमहाराजमाहा
नामप्रिदुरममिजिदि ॥ नयनोसीनिमाकल्याणमस्तुदीर्गीमुन

Fig. 56. Colophon of the above MS



Fig. 57. Raginī Bhairavī. From a Rāginalā set painted at
Āntardā in A.D. 1765. G. K. Singh collection, Neemuch.
Size 26.5 x 16 cm. approx.



Fig. 58. Rāga Megh Mallār. From the same set as Fig. 57.



Fig. 59. Rāga Kedār. From a Rāgamālā set painted at Āntardā in A.D. 1767. Bharatiya Itihasa Samshodhana Mandala, Poona. Size 25.5 × 14 cm. approx.

॥ ३६ ॥ इति रागमालासिद्धेण शुभे ३६ पुस्तकालिषा इति जितधर्म प्रति
पालकदयावंतमहजनवधेरवालगतजग्राणीवालसाहाजीश्रीसोमा
जीतपुत्रसाहाजीश्रीलघाजीतपुत्रधर्ममूर्तिसाहाजीश्रीदोलतरांमजी
कस्पलषतंजोमक्ति ॥ ३६ ॥ १८२२ वर्ष १६८७ ॥
सोजबुद्ध १३ गुरवारचित्रकारसोजीरांमगदरण्यं नवरकोवासी ॥ शु
भं नवदीर्घायुरस्तु ॥

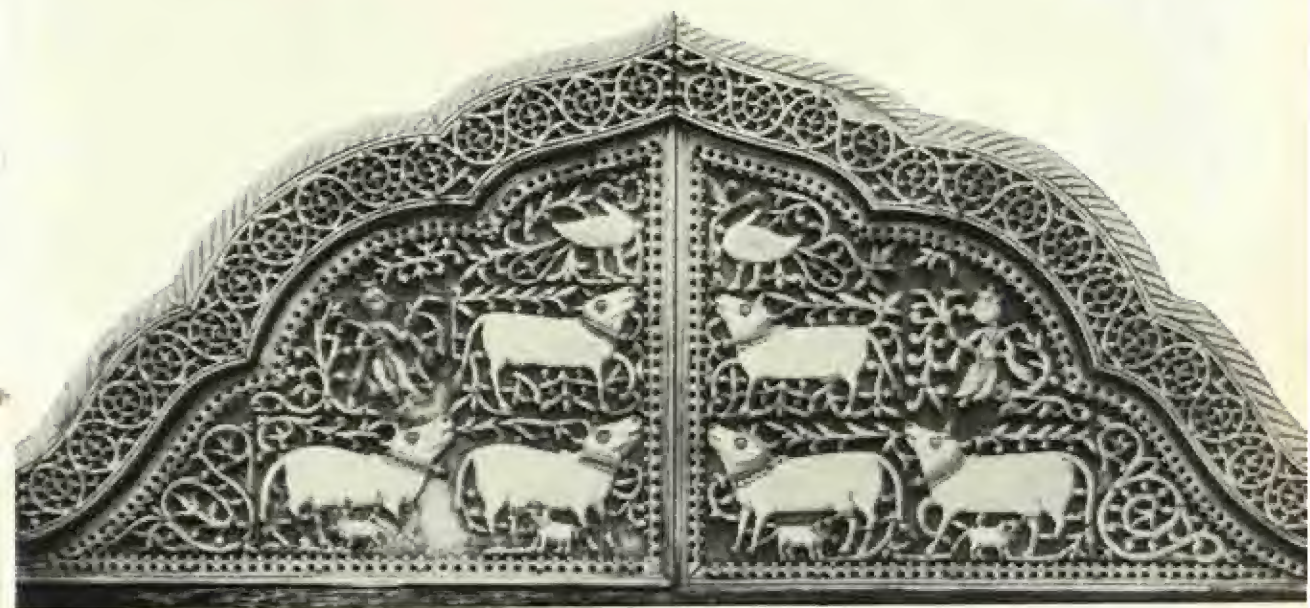


Fig. 61. Ivory *prishtha*. Western Indian Style, Gujarat. c. A.D. 1700. Size 66 × 26 cm.



Fig. 62. Detail of Fig. 61.



Fig. 63. Detail of a figurative textile. Ahmedabad. Late 18th century A.D.



Fig. 65. Detail of Fig. 67.



Fig. 66. Female types. Detail of Fig. 67.



Fig. 64. Krishna in the forest. Detail from a MS. of *Bālagopāstott*. Western Indian School. Early 17th cent. A.D.



Fig. 67. Tinsel printed Rumāl. South India/Rajasthan? 18th cent. A.D. Size 31 × 72 cm.

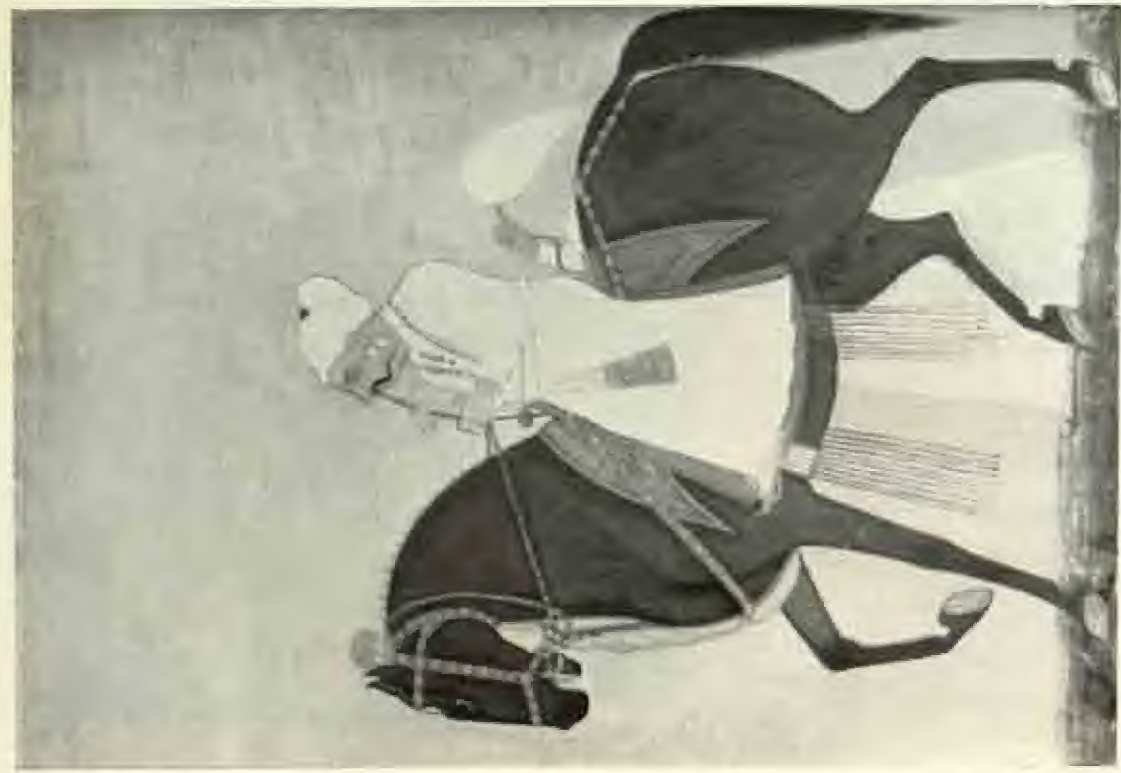


Fig. 68. Rājā Umed Singh of Shahpura, Rajasthani School. Dated A.D. 1768. Size 24.5 × 17.5 cm.



Fig. 69. Rājā Umed Singh of Shahpura, Rajasthani School. Late 18th cent. A.D. Size 26 × 20 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 70. Lion-slayer motif. Hoysala. Dated 1070. A.D. Size 63.5 × 104.5 cm.



Fig. 71. Lion-slayer motif. Hoysaleswara Temple, Halebid. Mid. 12th century A.D.



Fig. 72. Saḷa group. Lakshminidevi temple.
Doddagavalli. c. 1115 A.D.



Fig. 73. Saḷa group. Buchesvara temple. Koravangala. Dated 1173 A.D.









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